

REGIONAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE U.S.

THE CASE OF THE GEORGIA AREA PLANNING AND
DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Social crises in the United States are discussed generally, as either social problems or social conflicts. Viewed as social problems, high levels of unemployment, underemployment, inflation, the absence or inadequacy of public social services are attributed to structural or functional maladies in government, or weaknesses in the private corporate sector. The prescriptive remedies in both cases suggest, generally, more public sector interventions, either in the forms of greater or lesser public expenditures, or more or less government fiscal and monetary controls.¹

However, social deficiencies, viewed as social

¹Theodore Caplow, "Toward Social Hope: The Coming of the Era of Protest," in Is America Possible? Social Problems from Conservative Liberal and Socialist Perspectives, edited by Henry Etzbowitz (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1974), pp. 28-34. See also, Herbert Blumer, "Social Problems as Collective Behavior," Ibid., pp. 35-41; Winston Moore, Charles Livermore, and George Galland, Jr., "Woodlawn the Zone of Destruction," Ibid., pp. 48-59; Francis Fox Piven, "The Great Society as Political Strategy," Ibid., pp. 59-60.

conflicts, have no permanent resolution in reformation policies. Social conflicts are considered political in nature, resulting from class antagonisms between dominant and subdominant class interests. These conflicts are resolved by the ability of one group to subordinate the interests of the other group.²

Despite these divergent view points, there seems to be consensus in terms of the direction in which the United States public and private sectors are moving towards the amelioration of the current and potentially explosive social crises. The U. S. post-industrial society is being viewed as a society that needs to be managed and in order to achieve this it is necessary to formulate a greater symbiotic relationship between the public and the private corporate sectors. The current social difficulties in the United States is being viewed as a fiscal crisis, a consequence emanating from the structural gap between state expenditures and revenues. The managed society proposition proposes to address this dilemma through the use of greater amounts of public funds, managed

²James Rule, "The Problem with Social Problems, Is America Possible?", pp. 21-27; Richard Sennett, "The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life," Ibid., pp. 66-75. Also see, Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff, The Dynamics of U.S. Capitalism: Corporate Structure, Inflation, Credit, Gold and Dollar (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), p. 23.

by the private corporate sector. Additionally it proposes new structural governmental arrangements at all levels of government.³ These are needed, it is being said, for efficiency and economy purposes. This new reformist effort is being commonly referred to as regional planning and development, or regionalism. The ultimate objective of regionalism is the creation of regional governments, which suggest the consolidation of multi-state units and substate units. It is the contention of the regional reformists that these new structures will allow for more political, economic, and administrative efficiency and effectiveness in redressing the current pressing fiscal and general socio-economic crises in the U.S.

In the broad sense this study is concerned with social crises in the U.S. and those reformation policies and

³For a discussion of current, public/private reformation policy in the U.S., from a Marxian perspective, see James O'Connor's The Fiscal Crises of the State (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), especially chapters 2 and 9; and Bertram Cross' essay, "Friendly Fascism: A Model for America," in Is America Possible? From the reformatory perspective, see Congressman Henry S. Reuss' work, Revenue Sharing: Crutch or Catalyst for State and Local Government (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), Chapters I-III; and the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), and their publications on government reorganization, 1961 through 1970.

programs which are being advocated and implemented to address these. The emphasis herein is with regionalism, viewed as a reformation policy. The regional model appears to hold the greatest currency at the present time. To understand the broad ramifications of regionalism, the author has elected to focus the study on regional planning and development districts in the state of Georgia, officially referred to as the Area Planning and Development Commissions (APDCs).

Another reason for the specific focus on regionalism at a substate level is because it is here that regionalism has its greatest visibility. Georgia is selected because it has the most elaborate of the state systems of multi-county organizations, where eighteen area planning and development commissions embrace all 159 of its counties. The state of Georgia was a forerunner in the area of substate regionalism, and in a sense was a logical place for multi-jurisdictional regionalism to achieve its greatest momentum. The Georgia counties are among the smallest, both in area and in population in the country. As this state's leadership became increasingly concerned, in the 1950's, with population decline, economic stagnation, erosion of local tax bases being experienced throughout the state, except for metropolitan Atlanta and a few other urban centers, they were agreed that revival

could not be organized on a county by county basis, with every county in competition with each other. Beginning in 1957, representatives of the Georgia Power Company, the University of Georgia, the Georgia General Assembly, and other statewide organizations began to promote the concept of regionalization, and two years later the multi-jurisdictional organization was created.⁴

This study will attempt to delineate the structural and functional characteristics of the Georgia APDC model; to project their potential viability and survivability as a reformation program, purporting to ameliorate the broad social concerns of state and local government; and to portray this effort within the context of a highly sophisticated and technically modern industrial society grappling with these same concerns at the national level.

Chapter II discusses the effects of industrial modernization on the U. S. society as a whole--the inability of state and local governments to adjust to these consequences--and the need for federal intervention for the maintenance of a degree of societal order.

⁴James L. Sunquist, Making Federalism Work: A Study of Program Coordination at the Community Level (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1969), pp. 158-59.

Chapter III presents the history of regionalism in the United States. This background is offered to show the inter-relatedness and interdependencies of national, state, and substate regionalism.

Chapter IV presents the legislative history of the Georgia APDC's and describes their general functional characteristics.

Chapter V selects three of the APDC's, describes their specific functional properties and delineates their differences for the purpose of categorization of all eighteen APDC's.

Chapter VI attempts to predict a future for the Georgia APDC's, and regionalism in general, deduced from the general authority given them by the Georgia General Assembly and the local governmental units; from the increased review authority and financial support given them by the federal government; from what is perceived as a natural evolutionary process for an advanced industrial society; from predictions made by a number of authors writing on the subject of regionalism; and finally, from the author's own observations.

Chapter VII will serve as the concluding summary of the preceding chapters and the author's summary remarks on regionalism and social reformation in general.

Before proceeding it may be useful to define several terms used in this study, for their usage may have meanings unique only within the context of this study. These will be presented as follows:

Government Consolidation: at least two units of government joining together legally to create a new governmental structure.

Regionalism: at least three or more units of government, at the state or substate levels, joining together legally for the planning and coordination of socio-economic development in a specified geographic area.

Substate Planning and Development Commissions: creations of state and local governments for the purpose of planning and coordinating socio-economic development in a specified substate area.

Multi-State Planning and Development Commissions: a number of states joining together for the purpose of planning and coordinating socio-economic development in a specified multi-state area.

Interlocal: refers to matters concerning two or more local governmental units.

Quasi-governmental: an agency with local elected

officials' participation, with state and local government legislatively mandated authority but lacking the normal powers of government--legislative--executive--judicial.

Finally, the data utilized in this study were collected from staff interviews and visits to eight of the APDC's (see Appendix A); from the APDC's literature; and from information gleaned from works of authors writing on the subject.

CHAPTER II

FEDERALISM IN TRANSITION

As most economic histories will indicate, rapid change has been a characteristic of life in the United States, but no period surpassed the last third of the nineteenth century in this respect. A newly industrializing nation with about thirty-five million in population became an industrial and economic giant in the international arena with a population of about seventy-five million by the turn of the century. A society of smaller owner-operated workshops and factories, dependent on the skilled artisan, evolved into a system of mass production, utilizing large numbers of unskilled laborers and dominated by huge trusts under the control of finance capitalists. Political affairs of both the states and the federal governments were largely in the hands of the business leaders. Private enterprise was permitted virtually free play and the phenomenal economic growth process advanced despite its accompanying violence between labor and capital. Economic prosperity and affluence seemed to have precipitated

large city slums and extreme poverty.¹

Early efforts at societal infrastructural changes suggested minimum reformation, encouraging more the formulation of appropriate relationship between labor and capital.² The capitalists were prevailed upon to pursue these relationships out of a sense of benevolence, but insignificant results were achieved from these efforts. Social difficulties mounted in the urban areas and the bottom fell through with the advent of the Great Depression.

The decade of the 1930's brought more drastic changes to the intergovernmental financial structure in the United States than the entire preceeding 140 years. The primary force behind these changes was the Depression, which was without historical precedence in intensity and duration. A powerful shift in social philosophy developed when it became clear that the state and local governments could not cope with necessary relief and welfare needs. Local governments simply ran out of money, as property tax collections declined and tax collection delinquencies rose, and as they found

¹Milton Derber, The American Idea of Industrial Democracy, 1865-1965 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), pp. 29-30.

²Ibid., chapters 2, 3, and 4.

themselves unable to borrow. State governments made an effort to rescue the dilemma but these were laggard and certainly insufficient. The chief causes of this dilemma was attributed to a general break down in the market economy, "laissez faire capitalism" and the structural dysfunctional nature of local government. The United States, as a social system, was transforming itself into a highly industrial society and neither the private nor the public sectors were able to perceive the need for new societal infrastructural arrangements to cope with this transformation.

Authors and academicians like Lane W. Lancaster, Clyde F. Snider, Melvin Clyde Hughes, and Donald G. Bishop, writing in the 1930's and 1940's viewed the societal breakdown in terms of the inappropriate nature of local government in general and their inability to function in behalf of a society whose economic order had shifted from primarily agrarian to an industrialized one. They proposed resolutions that advocated local government consolidations and greater federal public sector intervention in supervising and financing the required governmental infrastructural arrangement. They also recognized the basic weaknesses of the economic system and implied a need for orderly growth as well as the need for some federal interventions in the managing of the

economic system.³

The Committee for Economic Development, writing on the same subject, reaches similar conclusions:

. . . American institutions of local government are an increasing strain. Well designed, by and large, to meet the simpler needs of earlier times, they are poorly suited to cope with new burdens imposed on all governments by the complex conditions of modern life. Adaptation to change has been slow, so limited, and so reluctant that the future role--even the continued viability--of these institutions is now in grave doubt.⁴

In a 1967 study the Committee for Economic Development writes again:

For many years, however, states and local units of governments have not been as effective as they should. States and local governments are for the most part poorly equipped to cope with the problems of the last third of the twentieth century. In many cases they are trying to serve an urban society with a system developed for an agrarian society. Since 1930 demands for improved public services have accelerated beyond the apparent capacity and will of the state and local governments to provide them effectively.⁵

³See Lane W. Lancaster, Government in Rural America (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1937), especially chapter 15; Clyde F. Snider, Local Government in Rural America (New York: Appleton Century-Craft, Inc., 1957), chapter 20; Melvin Clyde Hughes, County Government in Georgia (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1944), p. 167; Donald G. Bishop, The Structure of Local Government (Menasha, Wisc.: George Banta Publishing Co., 1945).

⁴Committee for Economic Development, Modernizing Local Government (New York: The Committee, 1966), p. 8.

⁵Committee for Economic Development, A Fiscal Program for Balanced Federalism (New York: The Committee, 1967), p. 9;

The magnitude of the economic and social crisis of the Great Depression era, along with the inability of state and local governments to address this situation, forced the intervention of the federal government. At first this new federal role took on the form of emergency programs of public works, work relief, and direct relief. Then in 1935 it took a more formal character and gave expression as to the permanency of its newly acquired role. The 1935 Social Security Act provided a federal program of old-age insurance, a federal-state system of unemployment insurance, and an extensive system of grants for public assistance which pushed state and local governments into these programs and reimbursed them for about half of their costs. Other governmental programs proliferated. Sometimes these new public expenditures were wholly federal, but often they were joint federal-state expenditures.⁶

also for additional and more recent work on the subject of governmental dysfunctionism see, Controversies of State and Local Government, edited by Mavis Mann Reeves and Parris N. Glendening (Boston: Allan and Bacon, Inc., 1972); Ronald James Liebert, Disintegration and Political Action: The Changing Functions of City Government in America (New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1976); Anthony James Cantanese, Planning and Local Politics (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Saga Pub., Inc., 1974).

⁶Maxwell A. James and Richard J. Aronson, Financing State and Local Governments (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1977), pp. 18-19.

Reinforcing the permanence of this interventionist role of the federal government in matters of local social concern was the centralizing bias emanating from judicial doctrine in the 1930's. Since the 1880's the Supreme Court had marked out a fairly clear boundary between federal and state activities, standing as a referee to solve jurisdictional disputes. Its new bias seemed to reflect its perception in shifts in social philosophy and as a reaction to contradictory precedents. This new interpretation of the welfare clause in the Constitution placed no judicial limits on the amounts or purposes of federal spending. Recently the Supreme Court has become even more unwilling to place restraints on government regulation of economic affairs.

Viewed from another perspective, the new role of the federal government, in matters of local social concerns, seemed to be a reaction to apparent weaknesses in the free market economy. Prior to the Great Depression the major explicit goal of public economic policy in the United States was to maintain stability of the price level. By achieving this goal it was believed that the natural forces operating in the market-place would normally assure expanding employment, economic growth, and equilibrium in international payments. However, the 1930's brought financial collapse,

industrial stagnation, severe and protracted unemployment, and disorder in the international system of trade and payments. Naturally these events dispelled confidence in those who believed in the ability of the economy to automatically provide sustained growth and employment.⁷

The Great Depression precipitated the FDR New Deal legislation, calling for widespread federal grants to ameliorate the critically depressed economic conditions of the country and the general socially destitute population. This legislation offered the means by which the administrative branch of the federal government would be able to contend with these problems. New Deal legislation provided for the creation of the categorical grant programs to local governments and private agencies. The categorical grant strategy prevailed until the enactment of the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972 (generally referred to as Revenue Sharing).⁸

Despite this new expanding role of the federal government, the New Deal legislation and many other social legislative enactments, and despite the billions of dollars spent on

⁷Ibid., p. 19.

⁸Martin Schnitzer and Chen Yung-Ping, Public Finance and Public Policy Issues (San Francisco: International Text-books Co., 1972), p. 15.

categorical grant programs, by 1960 two-fifths of the nation still lived in a state of economic deprivation in the United States. This figure represents thirty-four million people in families and four million unattached individuals (that is, economically unattached to family units) who lived in poverty; thirty-seven million people in families and two million unattached individuals lived in deprivation. The total of seventy-seven million people comprised two fifths of the United States population in 1960.⁹

The federal categorical grant-in-aid programs have come under increasing criticism from state and local governments because of their general overall administrative complexities and functional impotence. Although the federal budget by 1973 was providing \$43.8 billion in domestic aid, a five-fold increase in ten years, state and local governments were experiencing perhaps their most critical crises. Although the intention of the categorical grant-in-aid system was to provide systematic assistance to state and local governments and non-profit organizations, it failed grossly in this regard and really was not a system. By 1970 it was an

⁹Taken from Sweezy and Magdoff, The Dynamics of U.S. Capitalism, p. 21. The source of the percentage figure and the statement were taken from Poverty and Deprivation in the U.S., Conference on Economic Progress, Washington, D.C., April 1962.

amalgamation of 500 programs, some large, others small, each with its own legislation, regulations, guidelines, administrative officers, and clientele. Many of these programs overlapped and others conflicted.¹⁰

The hope (of the grant-in-aid system) was that each conditional aid would provide sufficient financial incentive to spur the states and localities on to greater actions in some more or less narrowly defined field of 'national interest.' But there is overwhelming evidence that the state and local governments cannot readily absorb such a large number of diverse programs over restricted periods of time. The sheer numbers of these Federal incentives, each designed to accomplish a different objective, has produced managerial apoplexy if not financial exhaustion for those jurisdictions not able to devote the time and resources necessary to track down and match every available Federal aid dollar.¹¹

Additional state and local criticisms of the categorical grant-in-aid system can be summarized as follows:

- the matching requirements distorted local budgetary priorities
- the system precluded a comprehensive attack on community problems
- the system was inherently inefficient
- it compounded the already imminent problems caused by local government proliferation

¹⁰Richard D. Thompson, Revenue Sharing: A New Era in Federalism (Washington, D.C.: Revenue Advisory Service, 1973), p. 22.

¹¹Ibid., p. 27, and it in turn was taken from the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Information Report: Revenue Sharing, An Idea Whose Time Has Come, pp. 7-8.

- it prevented local implementation control.¹²

The State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act of 1972 reflects the federal government's effort at reform in that it sought to deal with the tremendous fiscal crises at the state and local levels. The fiscal crises had been worsening since the 1950's while state and local pressure had been intensifying. The demands for greater social service benefits at the local level were frustrated by the inability of local governments to raise the necessary revenues for these expenditures. These frustrations along with the inabilities and insensitivity of the categorical grant-in-aid system precipitated in part the revenue sharing reform measures.¹³

It is not the intention of this study to discuss revenue sharing in detail but it may be useful at this point to make a few general comments about its function and structural character.

The main purposes of the Revenue Sharing Act of 1972 were: (1) to reduce fiscal disparities between states and among local governments; (2) to stabilize state and local taxes and thereby help produce a more progressive national

¹²Ibid., pp. 30-31.

¹³Reuss, Revenue-Sharing: Crutch or Catalyst, pp. 3-36.

tax structure; (3) to assist in the financing of needed state and local services; and (4) to move in the direction of governmental decentralization by increasing the discretion of state and local governments in determining the uses of federal grants.¹⁴ The 1972 Revenue Sharing Act authorized \$30.6 billions to be allocated by special formula to fifty states and 39,000 units of local governments.¹⁵ The revenue sharing resources were to be used by state and local governments for public safety, environmental protection, public transportation, health, recreation, libraries, social services for the poor or aged, and financial administration.¹⁶ The above refer mainly to what is generally known as general revenue sharing. The special revenue sharing programs are similar to the categorical grants, they are for special programmatic purposes.

On October 13, 1976, President Gerald Ford signed into law the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act Amendments of 1976, which extended the general revenue sharing

¹⁴Richard Nathan and Charles F. Adams, Jr., Revenue Sharing: The Second Round (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institute, 1977), p. 160.

¹⁵Ibid., p. IX.

¹⁶Thompson, Revenue Sharing: A New Era, p. 22.

program for three and three-quarter years and authorized the spending of \$25.6 billion for the period of the extension legislation. The allocation formula remained the same but there were changes in three other important areas: (1) the Civil Rights provisions were strengthened; (2) new requirements for public participation, involving hearings and publication of budget information were included; (3) the auditing and accounting requirements of the Act were strengthened.¹⁷

The general revenue sharing program is considered to be an attempt on the part of the federal government to address the fiscal crises dilemma with greater efficiency. State and local governments are viewed as partners in this efficiency thrust. By and large, state and local governments are given considerable degree of flexibility in the implementation of the social service programs, as long as they remain within the eight major programmatic areas. However, implied in the new intergovernmental relationship is one important caveat and that is, state and local governments will proceed with the modernization of these governmental units. Efficiency in government is the underpinning basis justifying the revenue sharing reform policy. Inefficient state and local

¹⁷ Nathan and Adams, Jr., Revenue Sharing: The Second Round, p. 160.

government arrangements are viewed as a detriment to the revenue sharing program.

For the past two and one-half decades the federal government has been actively supporting multi-state and sub-state planning and development districts. The categorical grant-in-aid system was tied into the perceived objectives of these quasi-governmental arrangements and so are the new revenue sharing programs. Given the extent of the federal governments' support for regionalism and its current emphasis on economic and administrative efficiency, it seems reasonable to suggest that revenue-sharing will become more a part of this process in the future.

The revenue sharing movement can be viewed as a centralized-decentralized public sector reformation program. It is decentralized to the extent that the state and local governments are given a share of federal revenues to expend in broad programmatic areas. It is centralized to the extent that these revenues are federal revenues and the President does have administrative and monitoring responsibilities and can use pressure through these means and other administrative mechanisms to achieve certain compliances. Although the revenue sharing program has a legislative mandate, the Executive Branch of government has a great deal of latitude in the

implementation of this program. The historical involvement of the federal government in regional planning and development will be discussed below, with the intention of showing that this involvement with regionalism suggests a greater sympiotic relationship for regionalism and revenue sharing in the future.

CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF REGIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

In discussing the subject of regionalism one must make the distinction between regionalism as an effort at government consolidation and regionalism as a planning and coordinating mechanism for area-wide socio-economic development. Both are alternative responses to dysfunctionism in local government and to its inability to offer social and economic redress to pressing concerns in its local community. The difference is seen in the means in which each has chosen to employ to achieve these objectives. The former has elected to seek consolidations of city-county, or county-county governments for the expressed purpose of creating new governmental structures. Whereas, the latter are legal creations of state and local governments, empowered to perform mainly planning and coordinating functions for several or more governmental units. A logical expression of the multi-jurisdictional planning and development creations is their

transformation into regional governments, but there is no specific provisions for this in their enabling legislation.

Support for government consolidation has fluctuated greatly since 1805. Enthusiasm for consolidation was at a high level in 1805, with the consolidation of New Orleans and Orleans Parish, Louisiana, but waned to a very low point shortly thereafter.¹ Then in 1947, with the consolidation of the governments of Baton Rouge and East Baton Parish, Louisiana, interest was rekindled. From 1805 to 1947 there were six city-county consolidations, all by legislative action. Between 1947-1971 there were eleven additional city-county mergers, ten by referendum and the eleventh followed the legislative pattern. Presently there are thirty-six areas considering similar mergers. Between 1921 and 1971 there were twenty-two areas where voters rejected mergers (see figure 1).

It would certainly be an understatement to suggest that government consolidation efforts have not had its problems. Given the fact that there were only eighteen successful city-county mergers since 1805, certainly can be

¹Charlene Caile, "Bringing the City and County Together," The American County 38:1 (January 1972): 9.

perceived as an expression of unwillingness on the part of the general public and local governments to relinquish power, or to part with tradition. Perhaps this may be a reason, though a speculative reason at best, why the present form of multi-jurisdictional regionalism is being pursued so indirectly, or so cautiously.

Multi-jurisdictional regionalism had its genesis in the twentieth century. Its evolution reflects a continuous, though cautious trend towards area-wide planning, particularly in metropolitan areas. By 1930, gaining in momentum, multi-jurisdictional regionalism began to win more and more local public officials and bureaucrats to its fold. More city planners, city and county chief executives began to see the need for officially sanctioned planning on an area-wide basis. Quasi-independent public advisory planning commissions, embracing the concepts of progressive political reform and scientific management were formed, though still lacking, relatively speaking, significant influence.

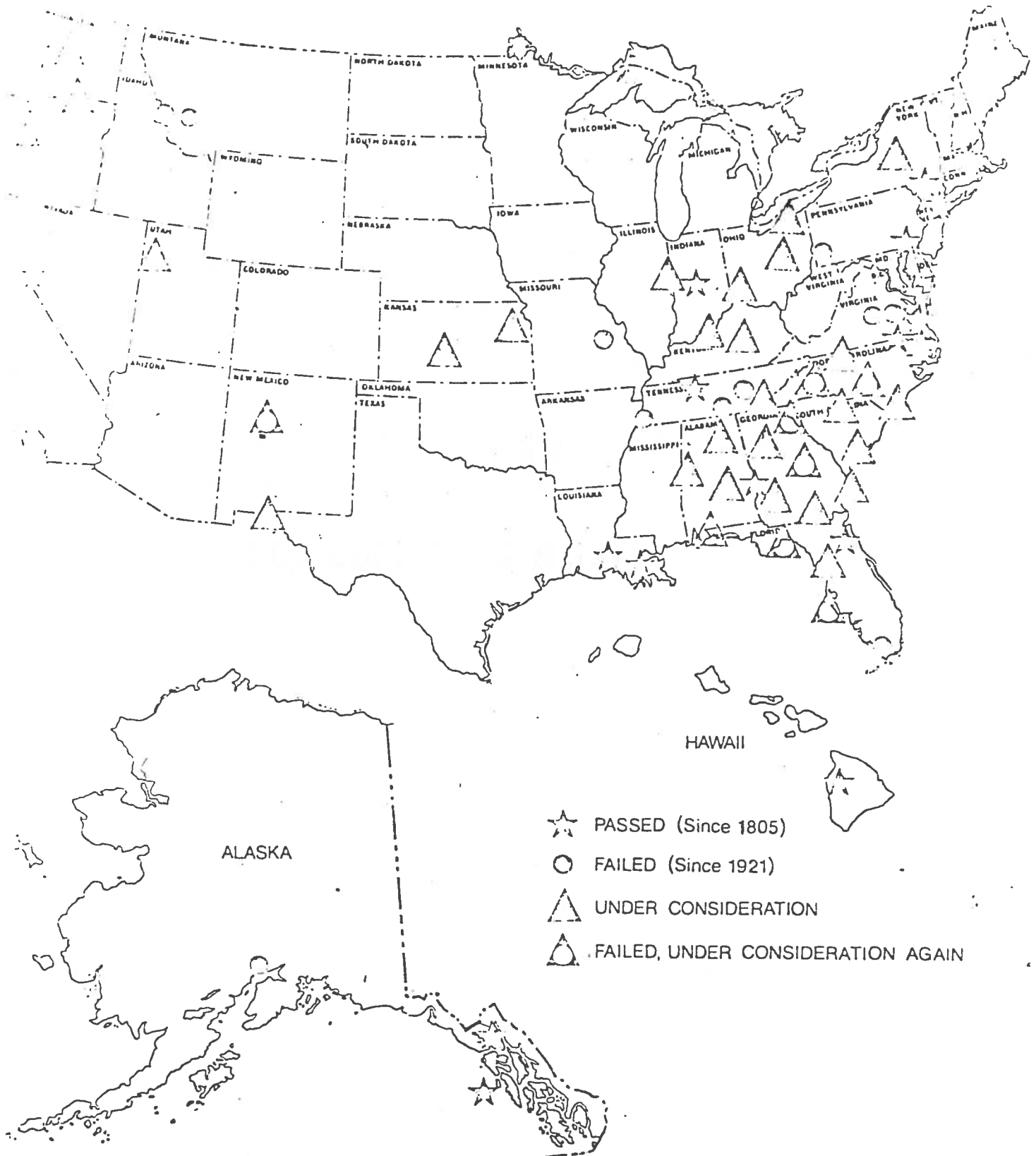
The following are examples of these quasi-public planning commissions. Two of the examples are private undertakings but by far the majority were public.

- In 1902, a Boston Metropolitan Improvement Commission was created, professing comprehensive planning

FIGURE 1

CONSOLIDATED GOVERNMENTS IN THE U. S.

Source: The American County, Vol.3 , No. 1, February, 1972



responsibilities.²

- In 1909, the Plan of Chicago, which was a private undertaking, placed the city in its regional context and pointed out the need for central development beyond city limits.³
- From 1913 until 1915, Pennsylvania law authorized a Suburban Metropolitan Planning Commission to levy assessment and prepare coordinated comprehensive plans of highway roads, parks and parkways, and all other means of intercommunication, water supply, sewerage and sewage disposal, collection and disposal of garbage, housing, sanitation and health, playgrounds, civic centers, and other public improvements for a district encompassing more than 130 local governments within a 25 mile radius of Philadelphia.⁴
- 1921-1929, a private group, the Committee on Regional Planning of New York, worked to produce a plan for the 5,528 square mile and 500 incorporated-community area.⁵
- 1922, the first metropolitan county planning commission was established in Los Angeles, California, to serve as an advisory body to the County Board of Supervisors in executing their planning responsibilities for the entire habitable region of the county and their control over planning in all of its unincorporated places.⁶

²Bureau of Public Affairs, Boston College, "Metropolitan Boston: A Fresh Approach," (Boston: The Bureau, August 1967), pp. 9-10.

³William I. Goodman, "Principles and Practices of Urban Planning," pp. 100-109; Mellier G. Scott, ed., American City Planning Since 1890 (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1969), p. 20.

⁴Scott, American City Planning, p. 176.

⁵Ibid., pp. 200, 223-24, 261-64.

⁶Ibid., p. 206; Goodman, "Principles and Practices," p. 23.

During the early days of the Great Depression multi-jurisdictional regionalism efforts witnessed a downturn, but in early 1933, with the advent of the Public Works Administration, and its National Planning Board (NPB) it began to regain ground. The \$3.3 billion federal public works program--with its planning requirement for federally sponsored state and multi-state planning programs, and its concern with housing issues, county zoning, and the satellite city concept, had a significant impact on the revival of regional planning.⁷ In 1934, there were only eighty-five metropolitan multi-county and county planning bodies and twenty-three regional planning agencies in existence, but by 1937 there were 506 metropolitan multicounty and county planning agencies, of which at least 216 were official public bodies. Two years later, metropolitan planning agencies, or regional planning boards, commissions, or associations were operating in at least thirty major cities.⁸

During the war years and shortly thereafter, multi-jurisdictional regionalism continued to grow at a steady pace.

⁷Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Regional Decision Making: New Strategies for Substate Districts, Volume I (Washington, D.C., October 1973), p. 54.

⁸Ibid., p. 55.

Seven new public regional planning bodies were created and a number of citizen's planning committees were reactivated. Most of these were county agencies. However, after World War II more multi-county/city organizations were formed, like the Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission which was created in 1947. Also created that same year were, Detroit Metropolitan Area Regional Planning Commission, the Virginia Regional Planning and Economic Development Commission, and the Regional Planning Commission of Reno, Sparks, and Washoe County, Nevada.⁹

It was not until the 1950's that the federal government became aggressively involved in multi-jurisdictional regionalism. This intervention on the part of the federal government transformed it from primarily an independent undertaking of state and local governments to a largely financed surrogate for metropolitan government and a tool of the federal public sector.¹⁰

The first federal support to local regionalism began with the Congressional passage of the Housing Act of

⁹Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁰National Service to Regional Councils, Regionalism: A New Dimension in Local Government and Intergovernmental Relations (Washington, D.C., 1971), p. 4.

1954.¹¹ Section 701 of this 1954 Housing Act established urban planning assistance to metropolitan areas. Five years following its passage, more than 100 metropolitan planning agencies were created and by late 1967, there were 216 regional planning commissions. Figure 2 indicates the types of regional councils developed between the period 1963 through 1970. And, as NSRC suggests, they were created to take advantage of the new federal financial assistance.

In 1965 the 701 planning assistance provision of the 1954 Housing Act was amended to specifically make councils of local government elected officials eligible for federal funds. The Council of Government (COG's), associations of local government, represented by local officials, came into existence in response to 1965 amendment to the Housing Act. Two hundred COG's were established shortly after this amendment was passed.¹²

The passage of the 1965 amendment to the Housing Act and the passage of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Act of 1966 suggests the federal government's determination

¹¹Keith Ward, Metropolitan Cooperation and Coordination: Tennessee Council of Government (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee, Bureau of Public Administration, 1972).

¹²Ibid., p. 20.

Figure 2

Regional Planning Commissions

| | Total | | | Metropolitan Areas | | | Non-Metropolitan Areas | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|------|------|-----------------------|------|------|---------------------------|------|------|
| | 1963 | 1967 | 1970 | 1963 | 1967 | 1970 | 1963 ^b | 1967 | 1970 |
| Multi-County | 38 | 97 | 101 | 38 | 41 | 50 | -- | 56 | 51 |
| Single County ^a | 88 | 119 | 152 | 88 | 91 | 93 | -- | 28 | 59 |
| Totals | 126 ^c | 216 | 253 | 126 | 132 | 143 | -- | 84 | 110 |

^aSingle county with representation from cities

^bNo survey was made of these in 1963 study

^cResponsible agencies for 142 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas

Source: National Service to Regional Councils, Regionalism: A New Dimension in Local Government and Inter-Government Relations, Washington, D. C.

to discourage support for unifunctional agencies and to encourage support for the more multi-functional agencies. The 1965 Housing Act Amendment made councils with local elected officials representation eligible for federal funds. The 1966 Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act made it a requirement, as of July 1, 1967, that all applications desiring federal assistance, under a variety of programs, had to be reviewed by an area-wide planning agency, composed of local elected officials.¹³

¹³Ibid.

The United States Congress passed a series of legislation between 1966 and 1973 furthering the federal government's position relative to exclusive support for multi-jurisdictional planning and development agencies.

1. Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968

This act expanded upon past requirements for intergovernmental cooperation. Portions of the Act directed the President to formulate a procedure and set of regulations to govern review of Federally-assisted projects. The Office of Management and Budget issued Circular A-95 to formally implement this Act.

2. National Environmental Policy Act of 1969

This Act expanded upon the review and comment procedures. The major focus of this Act is the provision for comment upon the environmental impact of proposed projects by federal, state and local agencies.

3. Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1968

The Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title VI, Section 601, stated that ". . . no person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefit of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Title VIII, Section

801 of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 declared that it is the policy of the United States to provide, within constitutional limitations, for fair housing throughout the United States, and required all executive departments and agencies to administer their programs and activities relating to housing and urban development in a manner affirmatively in furtherance of the purpose of that title.

On March 8, 1972, the Office of Management and Budget, in revising a portion of Circular A-95, provided that
". . . public agencies charged with enforcing state and local civil rights laws (should be provided) with opportunity to participate in review process . . ."

4. Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 as amended

This legislation was enacted by Congress in response to concern over increasing crime rates and the apparent ineffectiveness of state and local efforts to significantly reduce crime. The Safe Streets Act created the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) to administer large scale financial and technical aid to state and local governments, primarily through a block grant program to the state. In order to qualify to receive federal funds, a state must establish a state planning agency which must submit an annual plan for reducing crime and improving the criminal justice

system. Once the state plan is approved and funds made available, state and local agencies may submit grant applications. All such applications must comply with the provisions of OMB Circular A-95 in addition to appropriate federal and state legislation and all policies of the Council on Criminal Justice.

5. Crime Control Act of 1973

Under provisions of this Act, state criminal justice planning agencies were required to provide procedures for submission and review of annual plans from regional planning units and/or units of general local government having a population of at least 250,000.

Administrative procedures based on this Act, contained in the Guidance Manual of Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, required that all applications for LEAA funds be consistent with regional and state plans, and that, as evidence of regional consistency, all applications bear the endorsement of the regional clearinghouse.¹⁴

Congress also passed legislation making support available for special economically depressed regions

¹⁴Richmond Regional Planning District Commission (RRPDC), A-95 Procedure Guide and Legislative Background (Richmond, Virginia, 1976), p. 1.

encompassing multi-jurisdictional units of local government. These special regions, referred to as Economic Development Districts (EDD's) were created with the passage of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. Its main purpose is general economic development and creating jobs in areas of high unemployment. More specifically, the EDD's are to develop and implement Overall Economic Development Programs (OEDP's) with sustained growth as its end. The EDD's are funded by the Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce.¹⁵

The 1965 Regional Development Act provided for the creation of Local Development Districts (LDD's). Structurally and in intent, they are similar to the EDD's. That is, they are regional councils coordinating public and private efforts within multi-county areas to promote economic and social development. The difference being that the LDD's are located in economically depressed substate areas in the 13-state Appalachian Region.¹⁶

A word about the multi-state planning and development

¹⁵National Service to Region Councils, A New Dimension in Local Government on Intergovernmental Relations (Washington, D.C.0, p. 5.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 6.

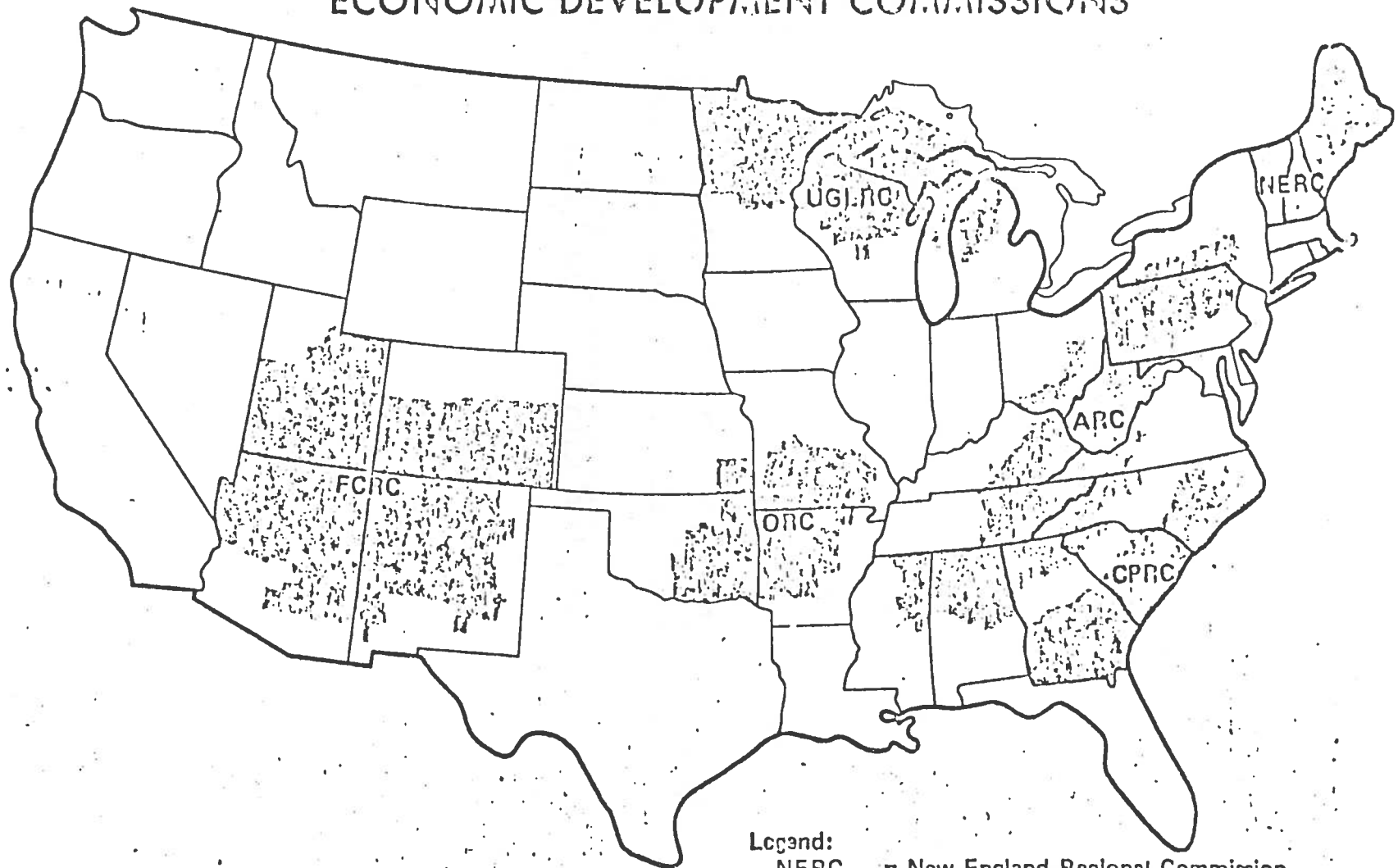
commission deserves brief mention. In the United States, the multi-state planning and development commissions are creations of the national government. Structurally, these commissions consist of a number of contiguous states, located in an identifiable region of the country. Their mission is to develop economic and general social programs for the solution of problems at the multi-state level, and to further national, state, and local interests in a coordinated, centralized and decentralized manner, respectively.

There are at present six federal regional planning and development districts. (See Figure 3.) Each federal unit has a federal co-chairman and a state co-chairman. The federal co-chairman is appointed by the President, to whom he is directly accountable. The state co-chairman is elected on a rotating basis by the states, from among their numbers. The other policy-making representatives include those governors of the states in the respective regions. The federal commissions are funded by the U.S. Department of Commerce, or as in the case of the Appalachian Regional Commission, by special congressional appropriations.

The 1960's witnessed the creation of multi-state, state and substate planning and development commissions and as aforementioned, as a response to federal involvement in

FIGURE 3

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS



Legend:

- NERC = New England Regional Commission
- ARC = Appalachian Regional Commission
- CPRC = Coastal Plains Regional Commission
- UGLRC = Upper Great Lakes Regional Commission
- ORC = Ozarks Regional Commission
- FCRC = Four Corners Regional Commission

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce

regionalism and the new federal grant requirements. During this period most state governments enacted enabling legislation allowing for the creation of the substate planning and development commissions.

The new federal legislative and administrative requirements have had a great impact on the development of cooperative efforts by local government. The national government has used both the "carrot" and the "stick" to foster regional planning and local government cooperation. With the "carrot," federal funds were made available to plan, coordinate and review interlocal community development.¹⁷

Early 20th century efforts at Multi-jurisdictional regionalism appeared to encourage structural political efficiency for achieving economies of scale in public service delivery, while taking into account the complexity and diversity of area-wide needs and local interests. With the increased recognition of the need for local interdependence, multi-jurisdictional regionalism was looked upon increasingly as a useful procedural device through which common area-wide objectives could be achieved, while still being regarded as a structural device which would respect local governmental

¹⁷ Ibid.

autonomy. The more they gained popularity the more this seemed to reflect a growing intolerance for local governmental fragmentation and dysfunctionism, particularly in light of the increasing central pull of suburbanization.¹⁸

Suburbanization required greater area-wide planning and coordination, and multi-jurisdictional regionalism offered to satisfy this need. So in line with this, one sees in the 1930's that the scale of planning was expanded to include larger geographical areas and terms like "regional city" and "the total metropolis" began to appear. The scope was also broadened functionally to encompass socio-economic human concerns, as well as physical factors. Consistent with this type of development was the concern for the practical and political implications of regional planning, and with the subsequent need to bring planning into closer contact with day-to-day affairs of local government.

Multi-jurisdictional regionalism seemed to evolve more into a federal response to dysfunctionism in local government, the inability of local governments to respond adequately to changing socio/economic requirements of its

¹⁸Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Regional Decision Making: New Strategies for Substate Districts, Volume I (October 1973), Washington, D.C., p. 51.

citizens. Multi-jurisdictional regionalism began as a private state and local effort during the early part of this century but has become a major concern of the federal public sector. Federal control of the purse strings has transformed functionally, if not structurally, the state and local public sector's relationship to their social concerns. At the present time regionalism appears to be one step away from regional governments. As of now, the multi-state and substate planning and development commissions do not have the authority to implement regional programs, without the consent of each unit of government within its geographical jurisdiction. However, all requests for utilization of federal resources must be reviewed and approved by the regional apparatus, which has determined to a great extent the nature of socio-economic development at the local level. The revenue sharing program is tied to the regional arrangement. The utilization of its resources must fit into the regional multi-state, state, and substate plans.

CHAPTER IV

A LEGISLATIVE HISTORY OF REGIONALISM IN GEORGIA:

THE STRUCTURE AND GENERAL FUNCTIONS OF

THE GEORGIA APDC'S

As aforementioned, the state of Georgia gave early support to substate regionalism. The numerous Georgia counties, their declining populations and tax bases were major determinants of the substate regional thrust. The Georgia General Assembly, the Georgia Power Company, and the University of Georgia were identified as the initiators of this effort. A Constitutional amendment in 1924, empowering the General Assembly to create consolidated forms of local governments had already set the legal basis for the multi-jurisdictional action of the fifties.¹ However, by 1950 there was only one case of government consolidation, the merger of Campbellton and Milton Counties.² Though not a

¹See Constitution of the State of Georgia: Including all Amendments through 1924. Compiled and published by Ella May Thornton, Assistant State Librarian (Atlanta: The Byrd Printing Co., 1925), Sec. I, Para. V, p. 87.

²Charlene Caile, p. 9.

merger, in 1947 Fulton and Dekalb Counties formed the first planning commission, the Atlanta Planning Commission.³ It was not until the 1950's that substate planning and development in Georgia received a degree of credibility, sufficient enough to generate interest and local involvement throughout the state by the late 1960's.

The following is a legislative chronology which legitimized and defined substate regionalism in Georgia:

1. Georgia Act No. 358, 1957--provided the initial legislation creating the APDC's. It empowered counties and one or more municipalities to establish planning commissions; outlined their general duties and powers; provided instructions for the appointment of board members; were given police power for zoning and subdivision regulation and the responsibility for preparing its official map, delineating its operational boundaries.⁴
2. Georgia Act No. 756, 1960--amended Georgia Act No. 358, redefining the structural nature of the APDC. It authorized any two or more counties, and any one or more municipalities in any one or more of these counties to create joint planning commissions; specified the method for election of officers of the board; for hiring staff; and gave the APDC the authority to cooperate and contract with, to accept funds from federal, state or local, and private agencies; to expend funds and to carry out other cooperative undertakings.⁵

³Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Regional Decision Making: New Strategies for Substate Districts, Volume I (October 1973), Washington, D.C., p. 54.

⁴Georgia Act No. 358, 1957 (Reprinted in booklet form by the Bureau of State Planning and Community Affairs, Atlanta.

⁵Georgia Act No. 756, 1960.

3. Georgia Act No. 123, 1967--created the State Planning and Programming Bureau, as part of the office of the Governor. Essentially this office was created to promote and coordinate socio-economic development on a statewide basis. It provided for the establishment of a statewide clearinghouse, to coordinate the APOC planning and development activities, and those of all other agencies. More specifically its functions were:
 - to prepare and submit a bi-annual socio-economic development plan to the Governor for his presentation to the General Assembly
 - to prepare an inventory of all federal programs
 - to provide technical assistance
 - to administer the APDC state funding and to set the funding criteria which required the APDC's:
 - .to have a minimum of five counties in their regional membership
 - .to raise a minimum of \$15,000 per year from local funds
 - .to hire a qualified executive director
 - to match each dollar of APDC money with two dollars of state funds up to \$15,000, then dollar for dollar over \$15,000, up to \$20,000.⁶

4. Georgia Act No. 1066, 1970--amended Georgia Act No. 123 to meet the requirements of the Federal Intergovernmental Cooperative Act of 1967 (particularly section 201 and Title IV - see Appendix B) and various U.S. Bureau of the budget circulars. This federal act essentially required APOC and state review of each request for Federal financial assistance to determine whether these requests met the requirements of the regional and state plans for socio-economic development.
 - the Bureau's name was changed to the Office of Planning and Budget and made state planning a joint concern of the Office of Planning and Budget and the Department of Industry and Trade, thereby linking the planning and budget processes to the states' commercial and industrial activities.

⁶Georgia Act No. 123, 1967.

- required an annual update of the state bi-annual development plan
- required a human resource utilization and economic development plan for each APDC.⁷

5. Georgia Act No. 5, 1971--created the Atlanta Regional Commission.⁸

The above legislative history spans a thirteen-year period and as one can deduce from these it seems as if there was a conscientious effort on the part of the Georgia General Assembly to both rationalize a more functional role for the APOC's within the context of the state/substate plan for comprehensive planning and development; and a willingness on its part to conform to federal guidelines to qualify for federal financial resources. The geographical and programmatic scope of the APDC's have been broadened and integrated into a formal statewide planning and development process. More will be said relative to this particular legislative development pattern, but now let us turn to a discussion of the general characteristics of the APDC's.

Inclusive of the Atlanta Regional Commission, which was created by a special act of the State Legislature in 1971, there are eighteen APDC's in the state of Georgia. All one

⁷Georgia Act No. 1066, 1970.

⁸Georgia Act No. 5, 1971.

hundred and fifty-nine counties have memberships in one of the APDC's. (See map entitled, Figure 4 for a delineation of their boundaries.)

According to Georgia Law, each APDC must have a policy board consisting of elected officials and private citizens. The law requires each county to select at least one member of the APDC board to represent the county. City elected officials or their designee may also serve on the APDC board but their number is not specified by law. (Figure 5 describes the actual composition and other characteristics of the APOC board structures as of 1976.)

In order to qualify for federal grant-in-aid programs, or to become qualified to perform the A-95 clearinghouse function, the APDC's are required to have minority representation on the boards. "Minority here refers to racial rather than sex." The exact percentage of minority representation is left to the discretion of the APDC's. Georgia law makes no provision requiring minority representation. As of this writing, no APDC has more than forty percent minority representation.

Each APDC board has an executive committee that supervises the implementation of policies, gives direction and assistance to the executive director and other technical

FIGURE 4

AREA PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSIONS

(EFFECTIVE JULY 1, 1972)

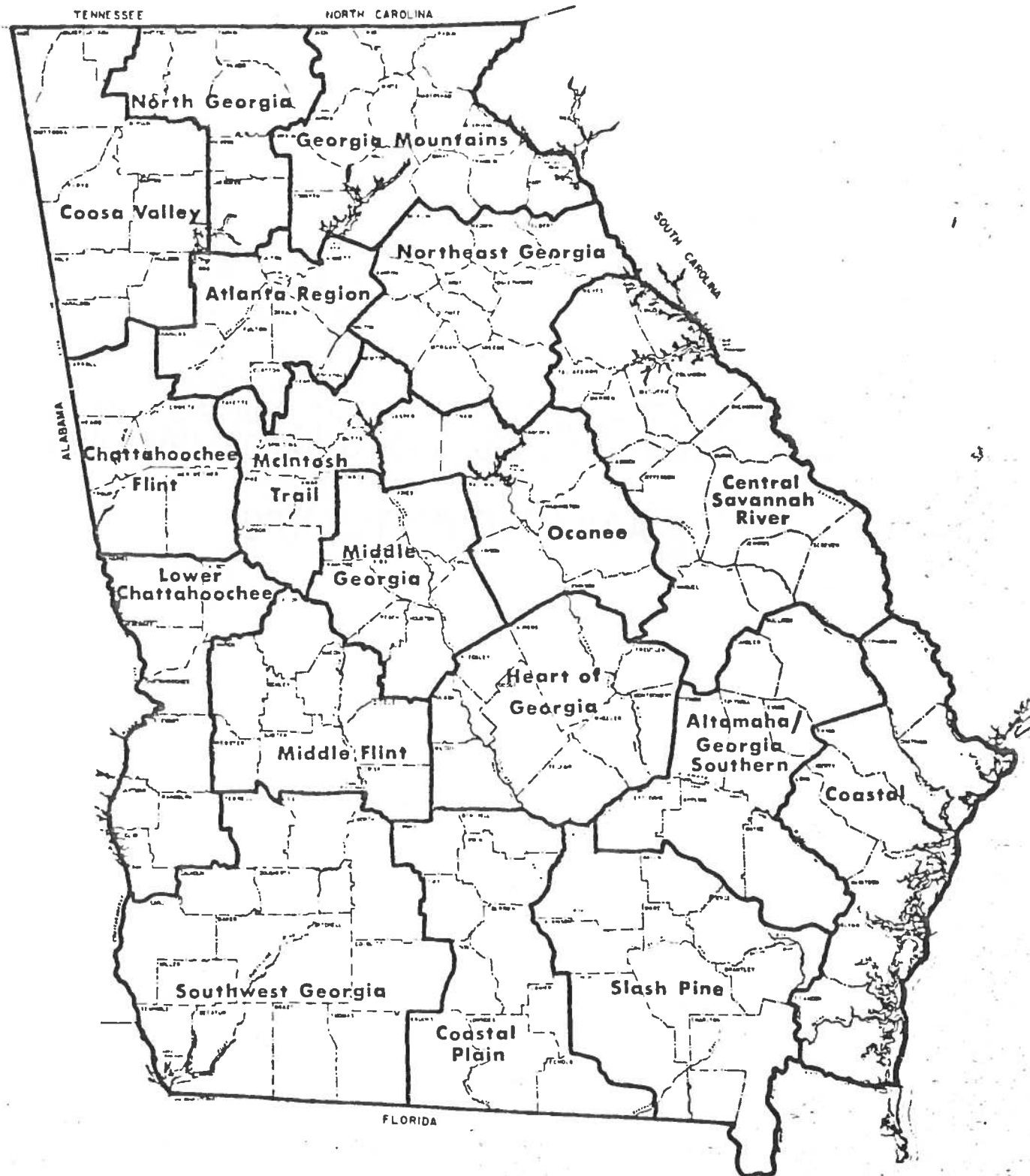


Figure 5

Composition of the Georgia APOC's--Board of Directors
The 62 APOC's

| | <u>Total Number Board of Directors</u> | <u>Board Members Elected Officials</u> | <u>Black Board Members</u> | <u>Other</u> | <u>Staff Total</u> | <u>Budgets 1976 (Projected)</u> |
|--------------------------------|--|--|------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Altamaha | 24 | 18 | 2 | 4 | 21 | 315,000 |
| Atlanta Regional Commission | 31 | 16 | 5 | 10 | 85* | 3,031,211* |
| Central Savannah | 34 | 16 | 8 | 10 | 22 | 374,000 |
| Chattahoochee Flint | 15 | 5 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 282,263 |
| Coastal | 27 | 20 | 4 | 7 | 28 | 1,019,476 |
| Coastal Plain | 30 | 10 | 9 | 11 | 27 | 478,266 |
| Coosa Valley | 33 | 19 | 3 | 11 | 38 | 1,357,980 |
| Georgia Mountains | 29 | 21 | 0 | 8 | 147 | 3,422,229 |
| Heart of Georgia | 27 | 12 | 9 | 8 | 14 | 188,629 |
| Lower Chattahoochee | 30 | 2 | 8 | 20 | 25 | 404,000 |
| McIntosh Trail | 23 | 0 | 7 | 23 | 11 | 164,000 |
| Middle Flint | 22 | 11 | 6 | 5 | 19 | 366,011 |
| Middle Georgia | 21 | 11 | 3 | 7 | 23 | 433,528 |
| North Georgia | 24 | 13 | 0 | 11 | 25 | 440,000 |
| Northeast Georgia | 23 | 12 | 7 | 4 | 25 | 388,000 |
| Oconee | 19 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 34 | 248,329 |
| Slash Pine | 21 | 8 | 5 | 8 | 20 | 407,275 |
| Southwest Georgia | <u>33</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>8</u> | <u>17</u> | <u>25</u> | <u>711,063</u> |
| | 466 | 214 | 94 | 171 | 597 | 14,031,260 |

Source: Georgia Department of Community Development, Factbook, Number 1975

*Source: Atlanta Regional Commission 1975 Annual Report

staff persons at intervals between monthly board meetings. The APDC by-laws provides for standing committees, generally for economic development, environmental protection, law enforcement, housing, land use, and solid waste disposal. There are also provisions to establish ad hoc committees for the performance of specific functions. The APDC board also hires the executive director, who in turn hires the required technical and administrative staff.

Broadly speaking and under the terms of the enabling legislation, the board of directors and staff of the APDC's are responsible for preparing a master plan for the development of their overall geographical jurisdiction. Under the terms of their contract with the Division of Community Development, the APDC's agree to prepare detail data plans and policies for the development of:

- a. a continuing program of research, including descriptions and projections of area population and economic analysis of economic and governmental problems; analysis of area potentialities; studies offering development possibilities;
- b. a continuing program of area planning, including the formulation and maintenance of a development plan for land use and transportation;

- c. a continuing program to assist cities to develop and coordinate local plans;
- d. a continuing program of resource development, including recommendations for specific proposals and procedures outlining public and private development programs capable of short term achievements;
- e. a continuing program of public information;
- f. a continuing program to compile and make available information required by the Bureau to carry out an in-depth reconnaissance and analysis of each commission's regional planning program, problems and opportunities.⁹

The Georgia APDC's also provide management assistance services to local governments. Conventional wisdom indicates that small, especially rural local governmental units often lack the technical know-how to manage their affairs efficiently. To say that some local governments are still operating from their "hip pockets," or from a "show box," is not a stretch of the imagination. APDC staff members devote much of their time, preparing budgets, program applications,

⁹Slash Pine APDC, "Eighth Annual Report," (Waycross, Georgia, 1972).

drafting local ordinances for local governments and training their elected officials.

The above chronological review of Georgia legislative actions, relating specifically to the creation and definition of the structure and functions of the APDC's, and the general description of their ongoing activities, have been presented primarily to give the overview picture; and to underscore the evolutionary process leading to the refinement of their scope of work and authority. As we have seen, structurally the APDC's have evolved into multi-county regional units, and functionally they have acquired the general responsibilities for planning and coordinating socio-economic development for these substate structures. The policy decisions are the functions of their boards of directors, consisting of elected representatives from each unit of government in the APDC area, or their designee.

The main objective of the APDC's is to devise policies and develop programs to assist local governments maximize the use of economic and natural resources for the betterment of the local communities.

CHAPTER V

A FUNCTIONAL DESCRIPTION OF THREE

BASIC APDC TYPES

As previously mentioned, there are eighteen APDC's in Georgia. It has been determined that they are creations of both state and local governments; that they are also supported financially primarily by the federal government; and that each have similar structural arrangements and are authorized to perform essentially the same functional activities. The concern of this chapter is to review in more detail the on-going activities of the APDC's with a view towards ascertaining how the broad mission of substate regionalism is being interpreted and implemented; and with a view towards theorizing about their future functional activities.

In surveying the literature on the APDC's, certain basic characteristics were delineated permitting their division into three relative distinct categories. First there are the urban APDC's whose socio-economic development problems are similar in nature and whose planning, development,

and coordinating activities follow a similar pattern. The second and third categories can be classified as passive and active groupings, respectively. The passive category views the AFDC mission in terms of a tool for "propping up" or revitalizing local governments, with the maintenance of their autonomy in mind. The third category, the more activist types, views substate regionalism as a modernizing agency for local communities, willing to pursue planning, development and program implementation with a view towards replacing archaic local governments with more useful regional types. Therefore, for the purpose of this analysis, the Atlanta Regional Commission, the South Pine APDC, and the Georgia Mountain APDC have been selected.

ARC is the largest of the urban APDC grouping, both in population and programmatically. The main feature distinguishing it from the other APDC's in this grouping is basically one of programmatic scale. A review of ARC's activities should shed sufficient light on the general characteristics of the urban grouping. This section will review the evolutionary history of regionalism in Metropolitan Atlanta, its structural characteristics, its general mission and several of its main ongoing activities.

In a previous chapter, it was noted that Metropolitan

Atlanta was an early pioneer in the area of regional planning. However, by 1970 Atlanta Metropolitan planning was in a state of disarray, with four major agencies performing regional functions for the five county metropolitan area, the Atlanta Regional Metropolitan Planning Commission (ARMPC); the Metropolitan Atlanta Council of Local Governments (MACLOC); the Metropolitan Council for Health (MAC-Health); and the Atlanta Area Transportation Study (AATS). Confusion and overlapping abounded and the interest of regionalism was being seriously impeded. In 1971, in an effort to address this dilemma, the Georgia General Assembly passed Law No. 5, combining the staff functions and policy authority previously held by these four regional authorities into one new regional agency, the Atlanta Regional Commission (ARC). Initially ARC's territory included only five counties. Douglas and Rockdale Counties were added in 1972.

Before these last two counties became a part of the ARC's jurisdiction, its board of directors consisted of twenty-three members, twelve elected members, and eleven citizen members. The twelve elected officials consisted of the county commissioner chairmen from the five counties; the mayor of Atlanta and one Atlanta alderman; and one mayor from each of the five counties, elected by the mayors of

each of the respective counties. The citizen members were selected by the twelve elected officials from equally populated districts, disregarding county lines and political subdivisions. At present, ARC has thirty-one board members, sixteen of which are elected and fifteen appointed.

ARC has a stable financial base, which is provided for by formula with specific allocations coming from the seven counties and the city of Atlanta as follows:

Counties which do not include any part of Atlanta pay 30¢ for each person living in the county, plus \$2,000; counties which include a part of Atlanta pay 30¢ for each person living outside Atlanta, plus 12¢ for each person in that part of the county which is in Atlanta, plus \$2,000; and the city of Atlanta pays 18¢ for each person plus \$2,000. The minimum contribution is \$5,000 per year.¹

This financial base is in turn used to acquire additional monies from various federal agencies. As of 1976, ARC had an operational budget of \$2.9 million. The average operating budget for the other APDC's is approximately \$650,000 per year.

The initial comprehensive program for ARC was organized into three major categories:

- A. Program Area One, provided for a comprehensive update and reappraisal of the regional plan.
 - 1. Completion of the regional inventory in land use, commercial floor space and employment.
 - 2. Formulation of an update economic base study.

¹Georgia Act No. 123, 1967. Georgia Act 1066, 1977.

3. Extensive assessment of health manpower and facilities in the five county area.

B. Program Area Two, is devoted to special studies:

1. A comprehensive Chattoahoochee River Corridor Study.
2. A solid waste plan refinement.
3. A crime analysis impact for the City of Atlanta under the Law Enforcement and Administration Act's (LEAA) special high crime impact program (a \$20 million program).
4. A comprehensive study of the rapid transit corridors and their impact on land use and development.

C. Program Area Three, recognizes ARC's continuing responsibilities to include:

1. Annual estimates of population and housing.
2. Regional criminal justice planning and information exchange.
3. Professional planning and coordinating support of local family planning facilities.²

As the ARC "1975 Annual Report" indicates ARC adopted development guides in a number of functional areas during 1975. This procedure was in accord with section 13 of Georgia Laws 1971, Act No. 5, which gives ARC responsibility to adopt policy statements, goals standards, programs, and maps prescribing orderly economic development, public and private, of its seven county area. The following programmatic listing summarizes and explains those development guides

²Georgia's Program of Planning for Development (a pamphlet published by the Georgia Power Company, Atlanta, Georgia).

adopted by ARC during 1975.

NURSING HOME DEVELOPMENT GUIDE (February 26, 1975). Nursing home bed need projections through the year 1975 for the Atlanta Region. Published as "Nursing Home Development Guide."

HOSPITAL DEVELOPMENT GUIDE UPDATE 1974 (February 26, 1975). Update of previously-adopted guide to reflect updated regional population projections. Published as "Hospital Development Guide Update 1974."

PRIORITIES FOR PARKS PROJECTS (February 26, 1975). A priority system for parks projects in the Atlanta Region proposed for federal funding during FY 1976 and a detailed display of parks projects in each priority category. Published as "A Resolution to Establish Priorities for Parks Projects for Funding During Fiscal Year (FY) 1976."

WATER AND SEWER PLAN AMENDMENT (March 26, 1975). An amendment to ARC's 1988 Water and Sewerage Plan to include Gwinnett County's withdrawal of forty million gallons of water per day (m.g.d.) from Lake Lanier and to include Gwinnett County's water treatment plant at a capacity of not more than forty m.g.d. Published as "A resolution to Amend the Water and Sewer Plan to Include the Gwinnett County Lake Lanier Water Project."

REGIONAL IMPROVEMENTS PROGRAM (April 23, 1975). An updated regional capital improvements program in areas such as hospitals, parks, sewerage, water supply, nursing homes, housing and transportation, adopted as an interim development guide pending adoption of the Regional Development Plan. Published as "1975-1979 Metropolitan Atlanta Regional Improvements Program: Interim Development Guide."

COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH PLAN, FIRST EDITION (April 23, 1975). Policy statements in areas of physical, mental, environmental health and social services in Atlanta Region. Published as "Comprehensive Health Plan."

HOME CARE SERVICES PROGRAM (April 23, 1975). Recommendations concerning the development of a coordinated and comprehensive service system through which the elderly can secure and maintain maximum independence and dignity in their own homes and through which the elderly can overcome individual and social barriers to economic and personal independence. Published as "A Home Care Services Program."

LEAA PRIORITIES FOR 1975 (May 28, 1975). ARC priorities for review of applications for Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) Block Grant funds for submission to the State Crime Commission. Published as "A Resolution by the Atlanta Regional Commission Recommending Priorities for Block Grant Applications for FY 1975 Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) Funds."

AIRPORT SYSTEM PLAN (June 30, 1975). Plan for meeting aviation needs, both air carrier and general, through the year 2000 in the Atlanta Region. Development guide applies only to that portion of the plan which falls within the seven-county Atlanta Region. Published as "Atlanta Region Airport System Plan: Summary Report" and other supporting documents.

TRANSPORTATION PLAN AMENDMENTS (June 30, 1975). An amendment to adopted regional transportation plan and regional transportation improvements program to add improvements to State Route 74 in Fulton County between Interstate 85 and U.S. 29 near Fairburn. Published as "A Resolution by the Atlanta Regional Commission to Amend the Adopted Regional Transportation Plan and the Atlanta Regional Transportation Improvements Program."

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL COMMISSION PRIORITIES (July 23, 1975). A priority listing of projects in Gwinnett and Douglas counties recommended by the Atlanta Regional Commission for funding by the Appalachian Regional Commission. Published as "Resolution Adopting the 1976 Appalachian Regional Commission Priority Listing."

CRIMINAL JUSTICE PRIORITIES (July 23, 1975). Regional criminal justice program priorities for FY 1976 as requested by the State Crime Commission. Published as "A Resolution by the Atlanta Regional Commission for Adopting the Priorities for Criminal Justice Programs FY 1976," and including in "Phase I Program Identifying and Working Toward the Reduction of Crime."

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR TRANSPORTATION FOR HANDICAPPED AND ELDERLY (August 27, 1976). A set of goals and objectives to direct drafting of a regional transportation plan to meet the special needs of the handicapped and elderly. Published as "A Resolution by the Atlanta Regional Commission Adopting Goals and Objectives for a Regional Transportation System to Serve the Handicapped and Elderly of the Seven-County Atlanta Region."

REGIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE PLAN (September 24, 1975). Statements of problems and recommended solutions in the areas of police, courts, corrections and juvenile justice in the Atlanta Region. Published as "Phase I Program Identifying and Working Toward the Reduction of Crime."

FIVE-YEAR FAMILY PLANNING SERVICE DELIVERY PLAN (September 24, 1975). Projections of family planning service delivery needs in the Atlanta Region 1975 through 1979, and recommendations on meeting the needs. Published as "Five-Year Family Planning Service Delivery Plan."

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (September 24, 1975). Set of land use and transportation policies, based on ARC-accepted socioeconomic projections through the year 2000, for the Atlanta Region. Plan as a development guide contains policies as relate natural features, development centers, highways, transit (bus and rail), and arterial improvements. Published as "Resolution Adopting a Regional Development Plan as a Development Guide." Publication of complete Regional Development Plan expected in 1976.

AMENDMENT TO REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN (October 22, 1975). An amendment to Regional Development Plan to rectify typographical error in September resolution

adopting the Regional Development Plan as a development guide. Published as "Resolution to Amend the Resolution Adopted September 24, 1975, Adopting a Regional Development Plan as a Development Guide."

AMENDMENT TO CHATTAHOOCHEE RIVER STUDY (October 22, 1975). An amendment to the adopted Chattahoochee River Study to reflect (1) a new proposed river crossing in the adopted Regional Development Plan, and (2) revised U.S. Army Corps of Engineers estimates of probable elevations of various floods in the Chattahoochee River Corridor. Published as "Resolution Amending the Chattahoochee Corridor Study."

ALCOHOL POSITION PAPER (October 22, 1975). Needs gaps and recommendations for meeting the problems of alcoholism in the Atlanta Region. Published as "Alcohol Position Paper."

TRANSIT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (November 26, 1975). The annual five-year work program of the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority (MARTA), adopted by ARC, MARTA and the Board of the Georgia Department of Transportation. Published as "Transit Development Program."

NURSING HOME DEVELOPMENT GUIDE UPDATE (December 10, 1975). An update of the Nursing Home Development Guide adopted February 26, 1975, to reflect new population estimates and to project needs and recommendations through the year 1980. Published as "Nursing Home Development Guide Update 1975."³

One obvious conclusion which can be drawn from ARC's ongoing programs is its tremendous emphasis and utilization of its planning function in guiding regional metropolitan socio-economic growth. The extent to which the local

³Atlanta Regional Commission, 1975 Annual Report, Atlanta, Georgia, pp. 6-7.

governments in the ARC region conform to these regional planning guides would be a subject of study in and of itself. However, it seems safe to conclude that there is a great deal of conformity. ARC reviewed over a quarter of a billion dollars of local federal grant requests for federal funds.⁴ Since these were approved it seems reasonable to assume that these activities were in accord with the overall regional plan, and that ARC gave favorable reviews.

The regional planning function emphasis of ARC seems sensible, especially in a region with a city as dynamic and domineering as Atlanta. It is quite possible that in the absence of a regional framework, and a specific regional focus, the city of Atlanta could attract an unequal share of the federal dollars. Regional planning takes on the characteristic of a value to be used for the betterment of each member of the regional consortium. The usefulness of ARC appears to be predicated on this premise.

To maintain balance ARC has to offer particular attention to the needs of the other member units. This is a delicate proposition but ARC has performed well in this regard by offering extensive technical assistance services

⁴Ibid.

to the smaller units of government, where the need is greatest, and because this assistance assures them a share of the federal dollars.

Put another way, ARC appears to view, given the emphasis on the planning guide approach, its role in a planning, coordinating, advocacy and technical assistance service context. Its main preoccupations are those concerned with metropolitan growth and development, crime abatement, transportation, social services (health-family planning). Its approach is indirect, in that it purports to use the power of persuasion and logic with policy makers and public administrative officials, rather than confrontative challenges of local governmental autonomy. It neutralizes competition by portraying itself as a facilitator of local government growth rather than its replacement. The ARC three million dollar budget goes a long way in maintaining a highly skilled staff to be utilized to achieve its obvious strategy in pursuit of its perceived mission. The planning guides proceed from an urban context which eventually incorporates the concerns of other elements of the regional area and which stresses more direct technical services to the smaller units of government.

The above scenario is played out in relative terms in the other urban APDC's. The major city in each of these

commissions is the focal point from which planning and development guides are conceptualized. The regional service balance is maintained by offering specialized technical services to the smaller local units of government.

The second major APDC grouping is not totally different from the previous prototype. The emphasis here is planning as a facilitator for local growth, development and maintenance of local governmental autonomy. The difference lies in the fact that there is an absence of a dominant urban influence. Rather, there is greater group homogeneity which cooperatively, and aggressively exploits the regional arrangement to fulfill objectives of the local units of government.

The Slash Pine APDC is typical of the more passive and conservative grouping. It is basically a rural APDC, located in lower southern Georgia. Despite its small programmatic size, it is probably as influential, or perhaps even more influential than ARC, in both substate and national planning and development circles. It was designated a Rural Development Pilot Project in 1968 by a steering committee of the United States Senate, Committee on Agriculture and Forestry. This designation established Slash Pine as the model rural APDC in the state of Georgia, and in a sense, has been used as a laboratory of learning for the weaker

APDC's in Georgia and other Southeastern states.

The particular concern of Slash Pine has been the abatement of declining population, erosion of tax bases, and general economic decline in local subdivisions of governments. The solution to this dilemma was perceived in terms of the need for industrial growth, physical planning, land use studies, infrastructural planning in preparation for industrial penetration. These interests were its main planning emphases. However, its strategy did not invisualize regional industrial projects that would impact the region as a whole, but rather regional planning of industrial projects specifically designated for a particular local community.

This strategy has enabled Slash Pine, in 1972, to make the following progress report:

Since 1966, almost \$45,000,000 has been invested by new and existing industries in additional facilities, and over 6,000 additional jobs have been created by 189 firms.⁵

In ten years, Slash Pine APDC has experienced considerable improvement in its economic conditions. While population continued to decline between 1960 and 1970, the rate of decline was less than that of the prior decade, 0.7% as compared to 1.7% for 1950-1960. Outmigration was also slowed. Current population for the eight county area is 97,771.

⁵Georgia's Area Planning and Development Commission, by John Tracy (A report presented to Prof. A. J. Contanese in partial requirement for City Planning Course #606, Georgia Institute of Technology, Spring Quarter, 1972).

The total employment increased 6.1% between 1960-1970 while agricultural employment declined from 8,422 to 5,489. Manufacturing employment between 1960 and 1971 increased over 52%, and unemployment in the area declined. The rate in 1960 was 4.8% and in 1970 was only 3.6%.

Income also increased:

| | <u>1960</u> | <u>1970</u> |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Medium Family Income | \$2,923 | \$5,990 |
| Per Capita Income | 1,033 | 1,920 |

Even though the number employed in agriculture declined, major improvements occurred in farm income. Between 1964 and 1969 total farm income grew from \$44.6 million in 1964 to \$75.5 million in 1969, an increase in total receipts of 193%.

Retail sales between 1967 and 1971 were up 57%. Total receipts in the service trades were up 27.5% (this category includes tourism and industry establishments).⁶

More analysis is needed to determine precisely how the specific activities of Slash Pine represents their interpretation of the mission of regionalism. However, the extensive field interview with the Executive Director of Slash Pine leads me to conclude that this APDC perceives its mission in a planning and coordinating fashion to facilitate economic growth in each of the local subdivisions of government. Like ARC, the Slash Pine APDC does not view its mission in terms of planning and development for one undifferentiated

⁶"The Impact of the New Federalism of City Planning," by Frank S. Sch, Planning: The ASPO Magazine, May, 1973.

geographic and population concern, to be planned for within such a context; nor is it viewed as an administrator of regional programs. However, unlike ARC, Slash Pine is a rural APDC devoid of the urban/rural dichotomy. The influence among the majority of the local units of governments is more diffuse.

Lastly, more unlike both ARC and Slash Pine, the Georgia Mountain APDC sees its mission as one going beyond the planning and coordination functions for the local governmental units. It views regional program implementation as an integral part of its planning and coordination functions. Socio-economic growth for the region is seen in terms of regional planning and regional program implementation under the auspices of the APDC. The Georgia Mountain APDC area is tremendously underdeveloped and not particularly endowed with an abundance of natural resources and therefore it seems that regionalism takes on a different urgency here. Efficiency, economy, coordination are seen as a prerequisite for regional socio-economic growth.

The Georgia Mountain APDC performs the regular legislative mandated programs of planning, coordination and review for its member local units of governments. It has also taken the initiative in implementing regional service

type programs through its own executive and administrative apparatus. Some of these programs include:

- child care
- housing
- health
- elderly care
- law enforcement assistance
- junk car removal
- regional data processing
- management assistance to local government
- recreation

Most of the other APDC's sponsor similar type programs, but the difference is that they are more local in scope. By and large, these programs are sponsored by local government agencies, and in some cases by private ones. This arrangement does not appear to be the case with the Georgia Mountain APDC, and one can reasonably deduce this fact from the data in Figure 5. Particular attention should be given to its staff and budget sizes. Georgia Mountain has one hundred and forty-seven staff members and a budget of \$3,422,229. The staff is nearly twice as large as that of ARC, which has eighty-five, and its budget is nearly a half million dollars larger than ARC's. A logical explanation

for the large staff and budget can be deduced from Georgia Mountain's perception of its mission as a regional operating agency.

It appears that the Georgia Mountain APDC comes the closest to a regional governmental prototype than any other APDC. One additional observation is the fact that Georgia Mountain has the largest number of elected officials, twenty-one, serving on its Board of Directors, as compared to the other APDC's. It also has the largest percentage of elected officials compared to its total board composition. These points are being raised to suggest that the Georgia Mountain APDC's perception of its operational role is apparently endorsed by the local governmental units comprising its organizational structure. Either the board of directors has formulated these policies themselves, or has endorsed them.

Additional research is needed here for a more precise understanding of this particular situation and the many factors determining the development of this phenomenon. Perhaps of equal importance would be a comparative analysis between the Georgia Mountain APDC and the North Georgia APDC, or the Northeast Georgia APDC, two other regions with similar socioeconomic and general demographic characteristics, to determine the reasons for the differences in their particular

growth patterns. However, for the purpose of this study, the delineation of those characteristics of the Georgia Mountain APDC, underscoring its functional dissimilarities relative to the other APDC's, is sufficient.

Having offered a general history of regionalism in the United States and the evolutionary trends of federal intervention in public policy reformation; the legislative chronology of regionalism in Georgia and an overall description of the Georgia APDC's, along with the three functional typologies, it would appear that sufficient background is available to proceed with a discussion of Chapter VI, "The Future of Georgia APDC's and Regionalism in General."

CHAPTER VI

THE FUTURE: THE GEORGIA APDC AND

NATIONAL REGIONALISM

Thus far in our examination of substate multi-jurisdictional regionalism in the state of Georgia, we are able to delineate three important determinants of their growth and development, the federal public sector, the General Assembly, and the state and local governments. We have seen the interdependent and sensitive nature of the APDC functional responsibilities but at the same time we have seen what appears as their progressive growth and a more definite determination of their functional character. Continued support by these factors can cause one to suggest reasonable optimism for the future of the Georgia APDC's and regionalism in general. Nevertheless, although these factors are necessary for the survival of regionalism in the U.S., they are not sufficient. This chapter will review the impact that federal, state and local governments have had on regional planning and development reformation thus far, and will

suggest additional alliances which must be formed to solidify their existence.

The fact that substate multi-jurisdictional regionalism in Georgia was an initiative of the General Assembly, suggest a commitment on its part for this form of reformation program. Also, the willingness to conform to federal public sector requirements seems to further suggest its willingness to enter into an alliance with the national level of government for the further assurance of the success of regional reformation. Later, when we review the federal public sector's contribution to regionalism we shall discuss substate planning and development in Georgia as a form of the national planning and development effort, implying that regionalism at the state and local level is contingent on its success at the national level.

State support for substate regional is important and its future is contingent on the degree of commitment from state governments. A 1969 report prepared by the Economic Development Administration, U.S. Department of Commerce, indicates that the states do perceive a definite value in substate multi-jurisdictional regionalism over and above the federal financial incentive:

--Meeting Federal requirements by fulfilling the requirements of many Federal programs that

comprehensive planning be carried out on a multicounty basis, or that a planning area be defined as a pre condition to financial support.

- Delineation and standardization of geographic boundaries by (1) establishing planning jurisdictions suited to the scale of areawide problems, planning activities of state agencies and as the focus of planning by regional agencies (2) coordinating Federally sponsored and/or operated programs at substate levels within the state, and (3) creation of common areas for collecting and analyzing information and statistics.
- Coordination and implementation of State, Federal, and local planning and development - including physical, economic, health, and welfare - on an areawide basis.
- Strengthening of county and municipal government by interrelating appropriate rural and urban concerns, and providing a mechanism for cooperative decision making and action.
- Provision of services on a regional basis.
- Promoting Federal assistance by assisting local governments and private organizations in obtaining Federal grants and loans.
- Coordinating administration of State agencies, by using a regional framework and the focus of planning by regional agencies to help establish priorities, and to minimize overlap, duplication, and competition in state planning and programming activities.
- Planning by district organizations through the identification of problems, goals and opportunities and through the integration of state and local development policies and goals at the regional level.
- Planning by State or Federal agencies for coordinating major state plans and Federal programs on the regional scale.

- Promoting economic development through multicounty planning and development organizations.
- Achieving economies by focusing resources available for development (leadership, manpower and money) - an objective especially important in rural areas.¹

Another survey, conducted in May 1970 by the National Governors' Conference, the Economic Development Administration, and the Office of Management and Budget, provides additional information relative to state governments and their views on substate multi-jurisdictional regionalism. The purpose of the survey was to ascertain, in a ranking order, a determination of the states' assessment of these substate agencies. Out of the fifty states, responses were received from thirty. The first preference of all the states was the category of "planning" with 16 states giving it a first priority ranking. The second, "development," received 12 first and second priority ranking, and the third, "standardization of boundaries for local and/or federally supported organizations," won 16 first through third priority rankings. The fourth preference of all the states was the category, "state administration of functional agencies," with 10 first through fourth priority rankings; and the fifth category,

¹The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, "Statewide Systems of Substate Districts," Volume I, October 1973, Washington, D. C., Chapter III.

"government service districts," had nine first through fifth priority rankings.² (See Figure 6.)

If these surveys, as well as others, are reasonably accurate assessments of the state and local government reasons for their involvement in multi-jurisdictional regionalism, then one can deduce further optimism for their future. Without the states' support and active encouragement of the development of regionalism, this reformation program would definitely be short lived.

Local government support for the APDC's was an additional factor contributing to their growth and development. Without the passage of the local government ordinances and the active involvement of local APDC programs, functional substate regionalism in Georgia would definitely have been obstructed. So far the APDC's have been able to satisfy the competitive interests of its many local governmental units, but the logical extension of regionalism at the local levels of government has not yet manifested itself. As long as the APDC's, at least the majority of them, continue to emphasize their planning and coordination functions and continue to successfully extend services to the majority of its members;

²Ibid., pp. 232-34.

Figure 6

Basic Purpose for Substate District Designation:
May 1970

| | <u>Planning</u> | <u>Development</u> | <u>State Admin- istration of Functional Agencies</u> | <u>Provision of Services</u> | <u>Standardiza- tion of Boundaries For Local and or Federally Supported Organizations</u> | <u>Other</u> |
|------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|--|--------------------------------------|---|--------------|
| Ranking by States | | | | | | |
| First Priority | 16 | 3 | 2 | | 3 | 2 |
| Second Priority | 6 | 9 | | 3 | 5 | 1 |
| Third Priority | 1 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 8 | |
| Fourth Priority | | 1 | 4 | 4 | 1 | |
| Fifth Priority | | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | |
| Priority Not Differentiated | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 3 | |
| Subtotal | 28 | 20 | 16 | 11 | 21 | 3 |
| No Purpose Recognized | 2 | 10 | 14 | 19 | 9 | 27 |
| Total States Reporting | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| Cumulative Rankings | | | | | | |
| First Priority | 16 | 3 | 2 | | 3 | 2 |
| First and Second Priority | 22 | 12 | 2 | 3 | 8 | 3 |
| First thru Third Priorities | 23 | 14 | 6 | 4 | 16 | 3 |
| First thru Fourth Priorities | 23 | 15 | 10 | 8 | 17 | 3 |
| First thru Fifth Priorities | 23 | 16 | 13 | 9 | 18 | 3 |
| Total Mentions | 28 | 21 | 16 | 11 | 20 | 3 |

Sample questionnaires returned on the May 1970 "Substate District Survey," conducted by the National Governor's Conference, the Economic Development Administration, and the Office of Management and Budget.

and as long as they are able to suppress their roles as regional executors of planned coordinated programs, support from their local government member units will more than likely be forthcoming.

On a whole, most of the Georgia's APDC's have performed invaluable management services to local governments. However, to suggest that because they were able to perform this function well, local governments will accept them as more viable and meaningful governmental structures would not necessarily follow logically. The converse may tend to appear more logical. The fact that local government's management capabilities were improved would tend to cause a greater reluctance on the part of local government to subscribe to consolidation, or regional governments. However proficient or efficient local government management becomes, by itself, it will not necessarily determine the economic viability of the local community's economy.

APDC's are rendering a valuable service by providing management assistance to local governments. By helping to improve the capabilities of public officials, the APDC's may be contributing to a pool of efficiency that could be tapped in the future to function in a different kind of local governmental system. Simply creating a greater awareness

for more management efficiency in local government could have immediate direct and long term indirect implications for them and their constituents. Admittedly, the management service rendered by APDC's offers a relatively weak case for their existence and for regional government in general, but nonetheless it is a positive contribution and somewhat valid reason for their existence.

A stronger case for the existence of the APDC's is their regional planning, development and coordination function. In this capacity, the APDC's have the opportunity to advance an economic or social service proposition that can demonstrate the case for a more viable economic approach and the possibility for more and better services. They can juxtapose their regional plans, showing potential benefits, with those of parochial governments and argue their case very rationally.

There are those who, although strongly supportive of regionalism, are pessimistic about its future. They see a questionable future for comprehensive planning and development unless these regional bodies can become regional authorities with the power to implement programs within these redrawn geographical jurisdictions.

The history of American regionalism indicates that both federal and state partners have frequently found

it necessary to create multi-state mechanisms to deal with regional problems. Yet regionalism has, for the most part, been approached on an ad hoc basis. This is of course to be expected, given the political base for regional governmental agencies and instrumentalities. Thus, regionalism presents a dilemma for the American federal system. For on the one hand, there are definite regional phenomena that demand the formulation of suitable multi-state, broad-based, authoritative character of federal and state governments. Regionalism remains current due to the multiplicity of regional problems encountered in life; it also remains a delicate task to fit regional institutions into a political system that is not organized along regional lines.³

Most regional planning commissions are political bastards, the offspring of a loveless alliance between cynics and dreamers, with no general government willing to acknowledge more than a foster parent relationship.⁴

Planning divorced from political implementation was once merely an occasion for derision; today it should be cause for restructuring our decision-making process.⁵

By far the most dominant determinant of substate multi-jurisdictional regionalism and regional reformation programming in general is the federal public sector. In Chapter III we have seen the federal government increasing its financial support to multi-jurisdictional regionalism,

³"The Need for Cooperation Between APDCs," by Carrol Underwood (a keynote address presented at a conference for APDC Executive Directors), 1970.

⁴"Notes APDC Policy Conference," sponsored by the Georgia Regional Executive Directors Association and the Institute of Community and Area Development, Act 26-27, 1970, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

⁵Richard F. Babcock, "Let's Stop Romancing Regionalism," Planning: The ASPO Magazine, 1973.

as well as increasing its requirements for planning and coordination of these public resources. As a result of the state and local compliances, federal aid to them quadrupled between 1952 and 1964 and is expected to increase another fifty percent in 1967.⁶ In 1968 total federal support to state and local governments amounted to \$17.5 billion. In 1972 federal funding for area-wide programs to state and local multi-jurisdictional agencies amounted to \$8.62 billion.⁷

More important to the future of substate regionalism in Georgia is the future of regionalism in the U.S. in general. Substate regionalism is part and parcel of a national reformation effort.

Bertram Gross and James O'Connor state that public sector reformation is moving towards a managed society. Gross in his essay "Friendly Fascism: A Model for America," argues the trends in post-industrial societies all point to an administrative system that would seek to manage the total

⁶Commission on Economic Development, Modernizing Local Government (New York: The Committee, July 1966).

⁷Michael Stone and Parris Glendening, "State and Local Expenditures: Who Gets the Budget?" in Controversies of State and Local Political Systems, ed. Mavis Many Reeves and Parris N. Glendening (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972), p. 257.

society. Monopoly capitalism in the present stage of its development warrants such an arrangement to pursue its capital accumulation interest. Public service sector activities are being viewed as a possible frontier for exploitation. However, to achieve this objective the society itself must be arranged in an efficient fashion. Just as international monopoly capitalism requires substantial decentralization, dispersion and devolution, so does the society. These are prerequisites for truly large scale management. The U.S. government must be viewed as "big business" and managed in that fashion. Decentralization is necessary because detail control prevents, or interferes with comprehensive control. This notion certainly implies the retention of power of course, just as regionalism and its revenue sharing component suggest. Regionalism in the U.S. appears to be an attempt to manage a macrosystem with a multiple hierarchy, "polyarchic" forms of shared and diffused responsibilities.⁸

Gross refers to the evolving U.S. capitalist society as a warfare-welfare-industrial-communication-police complex.

⁸Bertram Gross, "Friendly Fascism: A Model for America," in Is America Possible? Social Problems From Conservative, Liberal and Socialist Perspectives edited by Henry Etzbowitz (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 440-42.

James O'Connor in Fiscal Crisis of the State refers to the U.S. society in similar terms, the social industrial complex. Both concepts imply the use of monopoly capital techniques to organize and manage the public sector's social functions and to transfer as much of public sector's social functions to the monopoly capital sector for its management and for its further pursuance of its capital accumulation objective. Already the monopoly capital sector is making advances in the area of energy-conservation, environmental pollution and public education. Further advances for the social industrial complex are contingent on the profitability of these activities and its need to control the managed society.⁹

O'Connor suggests that monopoly capital support for regionalism derives from their perception of the nature of the fiscal and social dilemma at the state and local levels of governments:

For local politicians and businessmen the problem is that funds are not available in sufficient quantities when and where they are needed by local government and local capital. Until recently, federal grant programs actually redistributed revenues from the industrial to the nonindustrial states and from the larger states where the fiscal crisis was most severe to the smaller states. However, for the monopoly capitalist

⁹James O'Connor, The Fiscal Crisis of the State (London: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1973), pp. 51-58.

and the federal executive, the problem is that too many projects established under the auspices of too many governments and special districts receive too many funds. Concerned less with the fiscal crisis in particular states and cities, and more with the fiscal crisis as a whole, corporate planners and the federal government are preoccupied with the many 'major administrative difficulties' created by the 'rapid, uncoordinated, piecemeal expansion of the Federal grant system.' In short, national planners are worried chiefly about efficiency-meaning, ultimately, corporate profitability and accumulation. As the CED puts it, 'home rule for those who can handle it.' What this means is that 'big business is uniting behind plans to set up regional administrative governments that usurp present local government powers (taxation, zoning, policing, eminent domain) in order to make domestic economic expansion more efficient and centrally planned.' Other capitalist agencies such as the National Industrial Conference Board have developed ideas for regional fiscal planning, which, in turn, will ultimately require regional government new political structures through which Federal funds will be channeled. In brief, revenue-sharing programs developed by big business boil down to new policies to reduce or eliminate the power of local government and substitute regional planning and regional government organized by monopoly capital.¹⁰

Further on this subject, O'Connor offers the more liberal view of the monopoly capitalists, represented by comments made by David Rockefeller in the Wall Street Journal, December 21, 1971:

The ultimate scope and limits of capitalist reform depend on the ongoing political struggles and movements that shape the social-industrial complex. Monopoly capital strives to define and control the complex in terms of its own perceived interests. David Rockefeller

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 212-14.

writes, 'In view of the emerging demands for revision of the social contract, a passive response on the part of the business community could be dangerous. Any adaption of our system to the changing environment is far more likely to be workable if those who understand the system's problems share in designing the solutions. So it is up to businessmen to make common cause with other reformers. . . to prevent the unwise adoption of extreme and emotional remedies, but on the contrary to initiate necessary reforms that will make it possible for business to continue to function in a new climate.' . . .

Summing up the corporate liberal view, Rockefeller continues, 'now with the social contract again up for revision, new social and environmental problems are generating increasing pressure for further modification and regulation of business. By acting promptly, business can assure itself a voice in deciding the form and content of the new social contract.

Corporate liberals seek a 'new social contract,' one that involves governmental decentralization and regionalization and the meshing of private corporate management 'inventiveness' with the sovereign power of the state. To achieve 'responsible decentralization,' they would establish 'local control fronts.' . . non-profit community corporations linked to regional-planning agencies through which federal funds would be channeled from the state treasury to private corporations engaged in social-industrial investment. More and more, the issue of the growth of the social-industrial complex and regional planning are inseparable. And because regional planning requires corporate-dominated regional government, whether the fiscal crisis will be ameliorated by the complex depends on whether large-scale capital and the federal executive can persuade local government to cooperate or force it to submit.¹¹

The fact that the federal public sector has an interest in regionalism, as well as an influential element

¹¹Ibid., pp. 226-27.

of the corporate sector increases the level of optimism for regionalism. However, as aforestated, the logical expression of regionalism is regional governments, and this manifestation is not without its deterrents.

This form of governmental structural transformation will certainly receive opposition from forces in society wedded to American tradition, who would view any departure from tradition as un-American. Regional government pursued directly would be nipped in the bud by these forces. This certainly is not the case so far. The approach is indirect, surreptitious. It would seem reasonable for one to conclude that the present forces at work in favor of regionalism can certainly prevail in time, with no other factors entering the picture. Also, social gains would tend to weaken the hold of tradition.

O'Connor implies that the public sector and monopoly capital must accommodate several other factors before regional government can become a reality. The competitive capitalist sector would adamantly oppose the creation of regional governments because this would mean the relinquishing of their main power bases which is located in the state and local governments and in the states' congressional delegations. This opposition could present a serious obstacle for the executive

branch and monopoly capital and the future prospects for regionalism. A compromise will have to be found.

Organized labor is opposed or indifferent to regional government, especially those in the competitive capitalist sector. Those in the monopoly capitalist sector will also oppose regional government and its corporate social programming. This will mean more taxes for social programs. Also, organized labor is in constant fear of losing its collective bargaining gains made since World War II. Any change in the status quo or suggestion of change will provoke paranoic reaction.

Neither the Republican nor the Democratic parties can afford to openly support regional governments. The Democratic Party would lose its organized labor support if it did and certainly lose its tremendous congressional dominance. The Republican Party would lose its competitive capitalist support, the chambers of commerce, and the small business. Again, the executive branch of government and the monopoly capital sector must find a way to at least accommodate the interests of one of these political parties, or find a new one.

Blacks and other ethnic minorities are apprehensive about regionalism, mainly because they perceive it portending

diffusing of population and electoral densities. A close examination of the Black population geographic distribution in the state of Georgia would dispel this apprehension, at least for this state.

By referring to appendixes B through J the reader will see, shown graphically, illustrations describing the general population distribution by county and by APDC; and a Black/white ratio distribution by county and by APDC.

From these illustrations one can deduce the following:

- First - that the majority of Blacks in Georgia do not live in Black majority counties but rather in the 30% and 40% Black counties.
- Second - that only 9% of the Black population, or 108,263 Blacks, live in Black majority counties.
- Third - that the majority of Blacks live in the 30% and 40% Black APDC's (as a matter of fact, these illustrations show that 59% of the Black population live in the 30% and 40% Black majority APDC's, while only 58% live in the 30% and 40% Black counties - and that there are more Blacks living in the 40% Black APDC's than Blacks living in the 40%

Black counties, 33% versus slightly over 9%.

Furthermore, as the illustrations in these appendixes indicates, the only exception to these conclusions, which slightly favor the APDC's, is the Atlanta Regional Commission. The cumulative average Black percentage in six counties in ARC is 9.1%, and the seventh alone (Fulton County) it is 39.3%. Diffusion does take place in ARC. ARC has a less than 20% Black population, while 30% of the total Black Georgia population live there.

However, these data do dispel to a significant degree the Black apprehensiveness about regionalism and its diffusion tendencies. More importantly, the data suggest the potential significance the Black vote could have, used to advocate in behalf of regionalism. A united Black electorate, allied to the federal and the private corporate sectors could potentially bring regional government closer to a reality in Georgia, at least in those 30% and 40% Black APDC's. Granted, the foregone statement can be classified as an irresponsible speculative theory, but the real point to be made is that the Black electorate has no less leverage in an APDC governmental arrangement than in the county governmental arrangement, except for the Black majority counties. Also,

that an over-reliance or over-involvement in traditional electoral politics in the absence of any consideration for other possible trends in electoral politics may work to the future disadvantage of Blacks, especially if this new societal order becomes more and more of a reality.

In summary, these forces at work in support of sub-state multi-jurisdictional regionalism in Georgia, seem sufficient enough to suggest an optimistic future for it. These local and state factors have thus far only given their partial support, coming just short of support for the natural and logical expression of regionalism, regional governments. These local factors seen as a part of a national, public and private effort at regionalism further enhance this optimism.

The federal public sector and the private corporate sector support for regionalism appear to be gaining in momentum. A veritable marriage seemed to also have been consummated between these two sectors, with regional government being touted as the champion of the "American post-industrialized way."

It is evident that a selling job is still needed to win over other necessary allies, but this does not seem to be an impossibility.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

This study has concerned itself with social programming in the United States, focusing on regionalism, and more specifically substate multi-jurisdictional regionalism in the state of Georgia. As was stated early in the study, regionalism as a social reformation policy and program seems to hold the greater currency as a reform effort and seems to have the most extensive support base at the present time. Focusing on the Georgia APDC's and identifying their activities within the context of the national effort at regional planning and development helps to understand the totality of the regional effort as well as the main determinant forces presently involved in this effort and those necessary alliances which still must be formed before regionalism can continue towards its natural, logical conclusion, regional governments.

Social crises are societal conditions which cannot be taken lightly. The public sector, in its role as a

legitimizing agent, must provide the prescriptive measures to ameliorate these concerns. Or, it must at least give the impression that these concerns are being ameliorated. Critical social conditions can be a cause for the disruption of a society.

The public sectors have long ago established the necessity and its right to address social difficulties. First, state and local governments played the dominant role in this area, but since the 1930's the federal government has assumed dominance. Until recently the federal government proceeded to address these social service demands through its categorical grant-in-aid programs. These are no longer adequate and the federal public sector has had to embark on a new reformation course. The new federal reform strategy appears to have centralizing hierarchical characteristics, with sufficient diffusion to be appealing. Superficially, the new strategy emphasizes decentralization of public resource expenditures to satisfy state and local social service demands, but centralized or comprehensive control remain in fact at the federal level. Federal level control is manifested through its determination of programmatic expenditure areas and its monitoring function. Local control is mystified.

The fact that regionalism suggests more local control than it really extends, does not necessarily mean it has a very dim future. Mystified conviction serves the same purpose as rational conviction. It is conviction still the same. The trends do point to the coming of the age of regionalism, regional governments. Even if it does become a reality, a question will still remain imminent. How long can social conflicts be ameliorated through social reform programs, if indeed the dilemma is more accurately defined as conflicts rather than problems caused by malfunctioning structural political arrangements?

A P P E N D I X E S

APPENDIX A

APDC FIELD INTERVIEWS

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| Altamaha Georgia Southern APDC's | Staff |
| Atlanta Regional Commission | Staff |
| Central Savannah River APDC | Staff |
| Georgia Mountains APDC | Staff |
| Middle Georgia Planning Commission | Staff |
| North Georgia APDC | Staff |
| Slash Pine APDC | Staff |
| Southwest Georgia APDC | Staff |

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

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Washington, D. C. 20503

July 24, 1969

BUREAU OF THE BUDGET CIRCULAR NO. A-95
WHAT IT IS--HOW IT WORKS

This Bureau of the Budget Circular was developed as a means, in part, of implementing the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968, particularly section 201 and Title IV.

Title IV, among other things, directs the President to "establish rules and regulations governing the formulation, evaluation, and review of Federal programs and projects having a significant impact on area and community development." The basic objectives of this mandate center about the importance of sound and orderly development of urban and rural areas on the economic and social development of the Nation. Section 401(b) of the Act requires that "all viewpoints--national, state, regional, and local--shall, to the extent possible, be taken into account in planning Federal or federally assisted development programs and projects." Section 401 (c) states, moreover, that "to the maximum extent possible, consistent with national objectives, all Federal aid for development purposed shall be consistent with and further the objectives of State, regional and local planning."

Section 201 of the Act requires Federal agencies administering grant-in-aid programs to supply the Governor and legislature of any State, grants-in-aid made in that State.

The Circular incorporates two existing broad Government-wide planning requirements in furtherance of Title IV:

--Section 204 of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, which requires that applications for Federal assistance to a wide variety of public facilities type projects (highways, hospitals, etc.) in metropolitan areas must be accompanied by the comments of an

Continued, Page 2

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areawide comprehensive planning agency as to the relationship of the proposed project to the planned development of the area. The new regulations under this Circular which will supersede Circular No. A-82 on October 1, 1969, build upon the review process established under section 204.

--Bureau of the Budget Circular No. A-80 which encourages regional planning on a consistent geographic base of State-established regions. Federal programs assisting planning and development are required to conform to these regions unless there is clear justification for not doing so. The regulation also requires that applicants for Federal assistance to regional planning and development identify related planning and development activities in the region and demonstrate how they will coordinate their own activities with them.

| | |
|--------------|---|
| Hot Programs | Airport Planning, solid waste disposal, air pollution, law enforcement, housing, comprehensive health planning. |
|--------------|---|

2. Southwest Georgia APDC (Camilla, Georgia)

1970 Population - 315,000

Legal Basis - Regional Planning Agency Act

Area Encompassed - Baker, Calhoun, Colquitt, Decatur,
Dougherty, Grady, Lee, Miller, Mitchell, Seminole,
Terrell, Thomas and Worth Counties.

Number of Members - 13 counties, 46 cities

S M S A More than

Breakdown of Representation - 35% elected; variable

Voting System One county, two votes

Staff Total 25; ten professional

Transportation Planning - No

Responsibility

204 Agency No

Total Budget \$269,266; up \$63,045

Financial Sources Local, 32%; state, 17%; federal, 51%

Federal Programs HUD (701), FHA (a sewer and waste
planning), EDA, DOJ (law enforcement)State Programs Industrial development, SMSA transpor-
tation plan, crime control planning;
works with planning bureau, Department
of Industry and Trade, Highways, Parks,
Health and Labor.Other Regional Agencies - Southwest Georgia Community
Action Council; several multi-county
health organizations, regional libraries,
public health, forestry protection units,
watershed group, soil conservation dis-
tricts.

Hot Programs Law enforcement

Principal Programs Local planning assistance, industrial
development, crime, sewer and water.

3. Lower Chattahoochee Valley APDC 9 Columbus, Georgia)

Legal Basis - Regional Planning Agency Act

1970 Population - 240,000

Area Encompassed - Muscogee, Chattahoochee, Stewart, Clay,
Quitman, Randolph and Early Counties.

Number of Members 7 counties

Breakdown of Representation - 70% elected; variable

Voting System Each county, two votes

Staff Total 9; professional 5

Transportation Planning - Yes

Responsibility

204 Agency No

EDD Yes

Total Budget \$86,756; up \$38,250

Financial Sources Local, 25%; state, 40%; federal, 35%

Federal Programs EDA; DOJ

State Programs Works with State Planning Bureau,
Department of Parks, Department of
Industry and Trade.Other Regional Agencies - Chattahoochee Valley Council of
GovernmentsHot Programs Airport planning, law enforcement,
housingPrincipal Program EDA, criminal justice, housing
incentory

4. Chattahoochee-Flint APDC (Lagrange, Georgia)

1970 Population - 190,000

Legal Basis - Interlocal Agreement Act

Area Encompassed - Carrol, Coweta, Harris, Head, Meriwether, Pike, Talbot, Troup, and Upson Counties

Number of Members 9 counties, 9 cities

SMSA No

Breakdown of Representation - Less than 50% elected;
variable

Voting System One vote, one unit

Staff Total 10; professional 7

Transportation Planning Responsibility - No

204 Agency No

EDD Yes

Total Budget \$161,000; up\$21,000

Financial Sources Local, 23%; state, 30%; federal, 38%

Federal Programs EDA, Appalacia; Omnibus Crime

State Programs State Planning Bureau; Traffic Planning; State Department of Industry and Trade; industrial development; law enforcement; Appalacia

Other Regional Agencies - Community Action for Improvement,
Inc. (OEO)

Hot Programs Law Enforcement

Principal Programs Industrial development, 25%; technical assistance to local governments, 20%, mineral resource study, 10%; crime and delinquency control, 10%

5. Middle Georgia APDC (Macon, Georgia)

1970 Population - 300,000

Legal Basis - Regional Planning Agency Act

Area Encompassed - Bibb, Crawford, Houston, Jones, Monroe,
Peach, Twiggs Counties

Number of Members, 7 counties, 11 cities

SMSA More than

Breakdown of Representation - 91% elected; fixed

Voting System Not listed

Staff Total 13; professionals 8

Transportation Planning Responsibility - Yes

204 Agency Yes

EDD No

Total Budget None listed

Financial Sources Local, 40%; state, 20%; federal, 40%

Federal Programs HUD, FHA

State Programs State Planning Bureau; crime study

Other Regional Agencies - Georgia Technical Development
AgencyHot Programs Law enforcement, housing, comprehen-
sive health planningPrincipal Programs -HUD, FHA, 80%; crime study, 10%; local
assistance, 10%

6. Cossa Valley APDC (Rome, Georgia)

1970 Population - 370,500

Legal Basis - Regional Planning Agency Act

Area Encompassed - Bartow, Cotoosa, Chatooga, Dade, Floyd,
Gordon, Haralson, Murray, Paulding, Polk, Walker and
Whitfield Counties

Number of Members - 12 counties

SMSA More than

Breakdown of Representation - 21% elected; variable

Voting System One unit, two votes (2 members from
each county)

Staff Total 17; professional 8

Transportation Planning Responsibility - Yes

204 Agency No

EDD No

Total Budget \$295,095.77; up \$72,381.77

Financial Sources Local, 45%; state, 22%; federal, 33%

Federal Programs Appalachia, HUD (701), FHA (water &
sewer), EDA (project study)State Programs Highway Department; comprehensive
transportation studies; State Planning
Bureau; regional airport planningOther Regional Agencies - Northwest Georgia Regional
Health Advisory Council

7. Chattanooga Area Regional Council of Governments:

Tallanooga on northwest Georgia Community Action Agencies

Hot Programs Airport, solid waste, law enforcement,
housing and health

Principal Programs - Local planning advisory services, 35%; 701 local planning assistance projects, 15%; FHA water and sewer, 15%; law enforcement, 5%; Appalachia Project Planning, 5%

8. Slash Pine APDC (Waycross, Georgia)

1970 Population - 119,200

Legal Basis - Regional Planning Agency Act

Area Encompassed - Atkinson, Bacon, Ben Hill, Brantley, Charlton, Clinch, Coffee, Pierce, and Ware Counties

Number of Members - 9 counties, 9 cities

SMSA No

Breakdown of Representation - 11% elected; variable

Voting System Each unit, one vote

Staff Total 14; professional 7

Transportation Planning Responsibility - Yes

204 Agency No

EDD Yes

Total Budget \$276,045; up \$84,045

Financial Sources Local, 20%; state, 26%; federal, 54%

Federal Programs EDA, HUD, FHA

State Programs Highway Department; Slash Pine Regional Transportation Study. Works with State Planning Bureau, State Recreation Commission and State Parks Department

Other Regional Agencies - None

Hot Programs Airport planning, law enforcement

Principal Programs - Local Planning Assistance, 40%;
industrial development, 15%; tourism
development, 15%; regional physical
planning, 10%; law enforcement plan-
ning, 10%

APPENDIX D

Total population by county, total Black population, percent Black population; aggregate APDC population and aggregate Black population and cumulative Black population.

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce: general population characteristics, 1970 Census of Population

| <u>Coosa Valley</u> | <u>Total Population</u> | <u>Total Black Population</u> | <u>*Percent (%) Black Population</u> |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Dade | 9,910 | 107 | 1.1 |
| Catoosa | 28,271 | 327 | 1.2 |
| Walker | 50,691 | 2,395 | 4.7 |
| Chattooga | 20,541 | 1,982 | 9.6 |
| Floyd | 73,742 | 9,605 | 13.0 |
| Polk | 29,656 | 4,663 | 15.7 |
| Haralson | 15,927 | 1,215 | 7.6 |
| Paulding | 17,520 | 1,318 | 7.5 |
| Bartow | 32,663 | 4,181 | 12.8 |
| Gordon | <u>23,570</u> | <u>1,222</u> | <u>5.2</u> |
| | 302,491 | 27,015 | 8.9 |
| <u>North Georgia</u> | | | |
| Whitfield | 55,108 | 2,133 | 3.9 |
| Murray | 12,986 | 69 | 0.5 |
| Fannin | 13,357 | 29 | 0.2 |
| Gilmer | 8,956 | 28 | 0.3 |

*Percentages have been rounded off to the nearest tenth

| | <u>Total Population</u> | <u>Total Black Population</u> | <u>Percent (%) Black Population</u> |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Pickens | 9,620 | 328 | 3.4 |
| Cherokee | <u>31,059</u> | <u>1,144</u> | <u>3.7</u> |
| | 131,086 | 3,731 | 2.8 |
| <u>Lower Chattahoochee</u> | | | |
| Harris | 11,520 | 5,185 | 45.0 |
| Talbot | 6,625 | 4,495 | 67.8 |
| Muscogee | 167,377 | 42,945 | 25.7 |
| Chattahoochee | 25,813 | 4,490 | 17.4 |
| Stewart | 6,511 | 4,196 | 64.4 |
| Quitman | 2,180 | 1,311 | 60.1 |
| Randolph | 8,734 | 4,869 | 55.7 |
| Clay | <u>3,636</u> | <u>2,242</u> | <u>61.7</u> |
| | 232,396 | 69,733 | 30.0 |
| <u>Middle Flint</u> | | | |
| Taylor | 7,865 | 3,520 | 44.8 |
| Marion | 5,099 | 2,674 | 52.4 |
| Macon | 12,933 | 7,892 | 61.0 |
| Schley | 3,097 | 1,389 | 44.8 |
| Webster | 2,362 | 1,379 | 58.4 |
| Sumter | 26,931 | 11,945 | 44.4 |
| Crisp | 18,087 | 7,284 | 40.3 |
| Dooly | <u>10,404</u> | <u>5,210</u> | <u>50.1</u> |
| | 86,778 | 41,293 | 47.6 |

| | Total Population | Total Black Population | Percent (%) Black Population |
|--|---------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <u>Heart of Georgia</u> | | | |
| Bleckley | 10,291 | 2,314 | 22.5 |
| Laurens | 32,738 | 11,033 | 33.7 |
| Dodge | 15,658 | 3,981 | 25.4 |
| Treutlen | 5,647 | 1,845 | 32.7 |
| Montgomery | 6,099 | 2,035 | 33.4 |
| Wheeler | 4,596 | 1,391 | 30.3 |
| Telfair | 11,381 | 3,928 | 34.5 |
| Wilcox | 6,998 | 2,193 | 31.3 |
| Pulaski | <u>8,066</u> | <u>2,970</u> | <u>36.8</u> |
| | 101,474 | 31,690 | 31.2 |
| <u>Altamaha Georgia</u> <u>Southern</u> | | | |
| Bullock | 31,585 | 11,456 | 36.6 |
| Candler | 6,412 | 2,075 | 32.4 |
| Evans | 7,290 | 2,555 | 35.0 |
| Appling | 12,726 | 2,670 | 21.0 |
| Jeff Davis | 9,425 | 1,762 | 18.7 |
| Toombs | 19,151 | 5,134 | 26.8 |
| Tattnall | 16,557 | 5,107 | 30.8 |
| Wayne | <u>17,858</u> | <u>3,755</u> | <u>21.0</u> |
| | 121,000 | 34,514 | 28.5 |
| <u>Coastal</u> | | | |
| Effingham | 13,632 | 3,324 | 24.4 |
| Bryan | 6,539 | 1,778 | 27.2 |

| | <u>Total Population</u> | <u>Total Black Population</u> | <u>Percent (%) Black Population</u> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Chatham | 187,767 | 63,676 | 33.9 |
| Liberty | 17,569 | 6,006 | 34.2 |
| Long | 3,746 | 1,190 | 31.8 |
| McIntosh | 9,190 | 7,371 | 80.2 |
| Glynn | 50,528 | 12,464 | 24.7 |
| Camden | <u>11,334</u> | <u>4,102</u> | <u>36.2</u> |
| | 300,305 | 99,911 | 33.3 |
| <u>Georgia Mountains</u> | | | |
| Union | 6,811 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Towns | 4,565 | 0 | 0.0 |
| Rabun | 8,327 | 68 | 0.8 |
| Lumpkin | 8,728 | 154 | 1.8 |
| White | 7,742 | 369 | 4.8 |
| Habersham | 20,691 | 1,181 | 5.7 |
| Stephens | 20,331 | 2,401 | 11.8 |
| Hart | 15,814 | 3,684 | 23.3 |
| Franklin | 12,784 | 1,539 | 12.0 |
| Banks | 6,833 | 374 | 5.5 |
| Hall | 59,405 | 5,987 | 10.1 |
| Forsyth | 16,928 | 5 | 0.1 |
| Dawson | <u>3,639</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0.0</u> |
| | 192,598 | 15,762 | 8.1 |

| <u>Atlanta Regional</u> | <u>Total Population</u> | <u>Total Black Population</u> | <u>Percent (%) Black Population</u> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Cobb | 196,793 | 8,180 | 4.2 |
| Gwinnett | 72,349 | 3,692 | 5.1 |
| DeKalb | 415,387 | 56,874 | 13.9 |
| Fulton | 607,592 | 237,436 | 39.1 |
| Douglas | 28,659 | 2,639 | 9.2 |
| Clayton | 98,043 | 4,447 | 4.5 |
| Rockdale | <u>18,152</u> | <u>3,129</u> | <u>17.6</u> |
| | 1,436,974 | 316,397 | 22.0 |
| <u>Northeast Georgia</u> | | | |
| Jackson | 21,093 | 2,679 | 12.7 |
| Madison | 13,517 | 1,894 | 14.0 |
| Elbert | 17,262 | 5,509 | 31.9 |
| Oglethorpe | 7,598 | 2,830 | 37.2 |
| Greene | 10,212 | 5,285 | 51.8 |
| Morgan | 9,904 | 4,467 | 45.1 |
| Walton | 23,404 | 6,491 | 27.7 |
| Barrow | 16,859 | 2,873 | 17.0 |
| Clarke | 65,177 | 12,806 | 19.6 |
| Oconee | <u>7,915</u> | <u>1,272</u> | <u>16.1</u> |
| | 192,941 | 46,106 | 23.9 |
| <u>McIntosh Trail</u> | | | |
| Fayette | 11,364 | 1,954 | 17.2 |
| Henry | 23,724 | 7,580 | 32.0 |

| | <u>Total Population</u> | <u>Total Black Population</u> | <u>Percent (%) Black Population</u> |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Butts | 10,560 | 4,538 | 43.0 |
| Spalding | 39,514 | 10,547 | 26.7 |
| Pike | 7,316 | 2,957 | 40.4 |
| Lamar | 10,688 | 4,140 | 38.7 |
| Upton | <u>23,505</u> | <u>6,626</u> | <u>28.2</u> |
| <u>Middle Georgia</u> | 126,671 | 38,342 | 30.3 |
| Monroe | 10,991 | 5091 | 46.4 |
| Jones | 12,218 | 4,704 | 38.6 |
| Crawford | 5,748 | 3,060 | 53.2 |
| Bibb | 143,418 | 49,506 | 34.6 |
| Twiggs | 8,222 | 4,627 | 56.3 |
| Peach | 15,990 | 9,129 | 57.2 |
| Houston | <u>62,924</u> | <u>10,440</u> | <u>17.0</u> |
| <u>Oconee</u> | 259,511 | 86,557 | 43.3 |
| Jasper | 5,760 | 2,840 | 49.4 |
| Putman | 8,394 | 4,092 | 48.9 |
| Hancock | 9,019 | 6,659 | 73.8 |
| Balwin | 34,240 | 12,998 | 38.0 |
| Washington | 17,480 | 9,374 | 53.7 |
| Wilkins | 9,393 | 4,334 | 46.2 |
| Johnson | <u>7,727</u> | <u>2,480</u> | <u>32.1</u> |
| | 92,013 | 42,777 | 48.8 |

| <u>Central Savannah River</u> | <u>Total Population</u> | <u>Total Black Population</u> | <u>Percent (%) Black Population</u> |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Wilkes | 10,184 | 4,813 | 47.3 |
| Lincoln | 5,895 | 2,719 | 46.0 |
| Taliaferro | 2,423 | 1,540 | 63.6 |
| Warren | 6,669 | 3,941 | 59.1 |
| Glascocock | 2,280 | 556 | 24.4 |
| McDuffie | 15,276 | 6,060 | 39.7 |
| Columbia | 22,327 | 4,856 | 21.7 |
| Richmond | 162,437 | 48,624 | 29.9 |
| Jefferson | 17,174 | 9,359 | 54.5 |
| Burke | 18,255 | 10,988 | 60.2 |
| Emanuel | 18,189 | 5,553 | 30.5 |
| Jenkins | 8,332 | 3,699 | 44.4 |
| Screven | <u>12,591</u> | <u>5,881</u> | <u>46.7</u> |
| | 302,032 | 108,589 | 43.8 |
| <u>Coastal Plains</u> | | | |
| Ben Hill | 13,171 | 4,121 | 31.4 |
| Irvin | 8,036 | 2,688 | 33.5 |
| Tiff | 27,288 | 7,167 | 26.6 |
| Berrien | 11,556 | 1,570 | 13.8 |
| Cook | 12,129 | 3,801 | 31.4 |
| Brooks | 13,739 | 6,346 | 46.6 |
| Echols | 1,924 | 493 | 26.1 |

| | <u>Total Population</u> | <u>Total Black Population</u> | <u>Percent (%) Black Population</u> |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Lanier | 5,031 | 1,472 | 29.4 |
| Lowndes | 55,112 | 15,990 | 29.2 |
| Turner | <u>8,790</u> | <u>3,098</u> | <u>35.3</u> |
| | 156,776 | 46,746 | 30.3 |
| <u>Southwest Georgia</u> | | | |
| Terrell | 11,416 | 6,793 | 59.5 |
| Thomas | 34,515 | 13,706 | 39.7 |
| Seminole | 7,059 | 2,472 | 35.0 |
| Mitchell | 18,956 | 9,190 | 48.5 |
| Lee | 7,044 | 3,070 | 43.6 |
| Calhoun | 6,606 | 4,166 | 63.1 |
| Dougherty | 89,639 | 30,700 | 34.2 |
| Baker | 3,875 | 2,054 | 53.0 |
| Early | 12,682 | 5,824 | 45.9 |
| Miller | 6,397 | 1,841 | 28.8 |
| Worth | 14,770 | 5,524 | 37.4 |
| Colquett | 32,200 | 7,560 | 23.5 |
| Grady | 17,826 | 6,356 | 35.7 |
| Decatur | <u>22,310</u> | <u>9,335</u> | <u>41.8</u> |
| | 285,295 | 108,591 | 38.1 |
| <u>Slash Pine</u> | | | |
| Coffee | 22,828 | 5,886 | 25.8 |
| Bacon | 8,233 | 1,078 | 13.1 |

| | <u>Total Population</u> | <u>Total Black Population</u> | <u>Percent (%) Black Population</u> |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| Atkinson | 5,879 | 1,879 | 32.0 |
| Clinch | 6,405 | 2,032 | 31.9 |
| Charlton | 5,680 | 1,914 | 33.7 |
| Brantley | 5,940 | 589 | 9.9 |
| Pierce | 9,281 | 1,680 | 18.1 |
| Ware | <u>33,525</u> | <u>7,492</u> | <u>22.3</u> |
| | 97,771 | 22,550 | 23.1 |
| <u>Chattahoochee Flint</u> | | | |
| Carroll | 44,404 | 7,395 | 16.4 |
| Coweta | 32,310 | 10,301 | 31.9 |
| Heard | 5,354 | 1,228 | 23.0 |
| Troup | 44,466 | 14,118 | 31.8 |
| Meriwether | <u>19,461</u> | <u>9,322</u> | <u>48.0</u> |
| | 145,995 | 42,364 | 30.2 |

s, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, and Selected Places

: U.S. Department of Commerce: general population characteristics, 1970

s of population

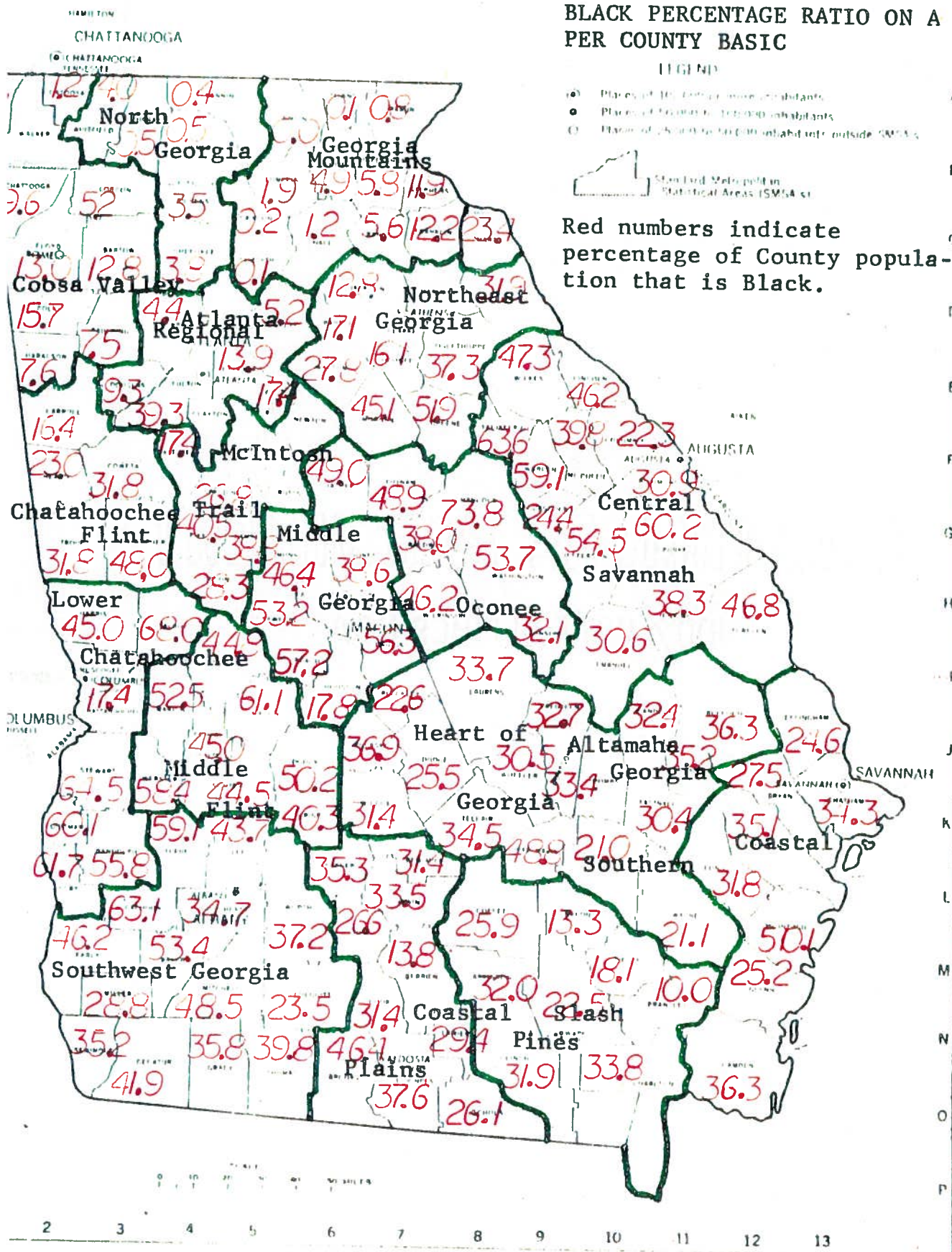
BLACK PERCENTAGE RATIO ON A PER COUNTY BASIC

LEGEND

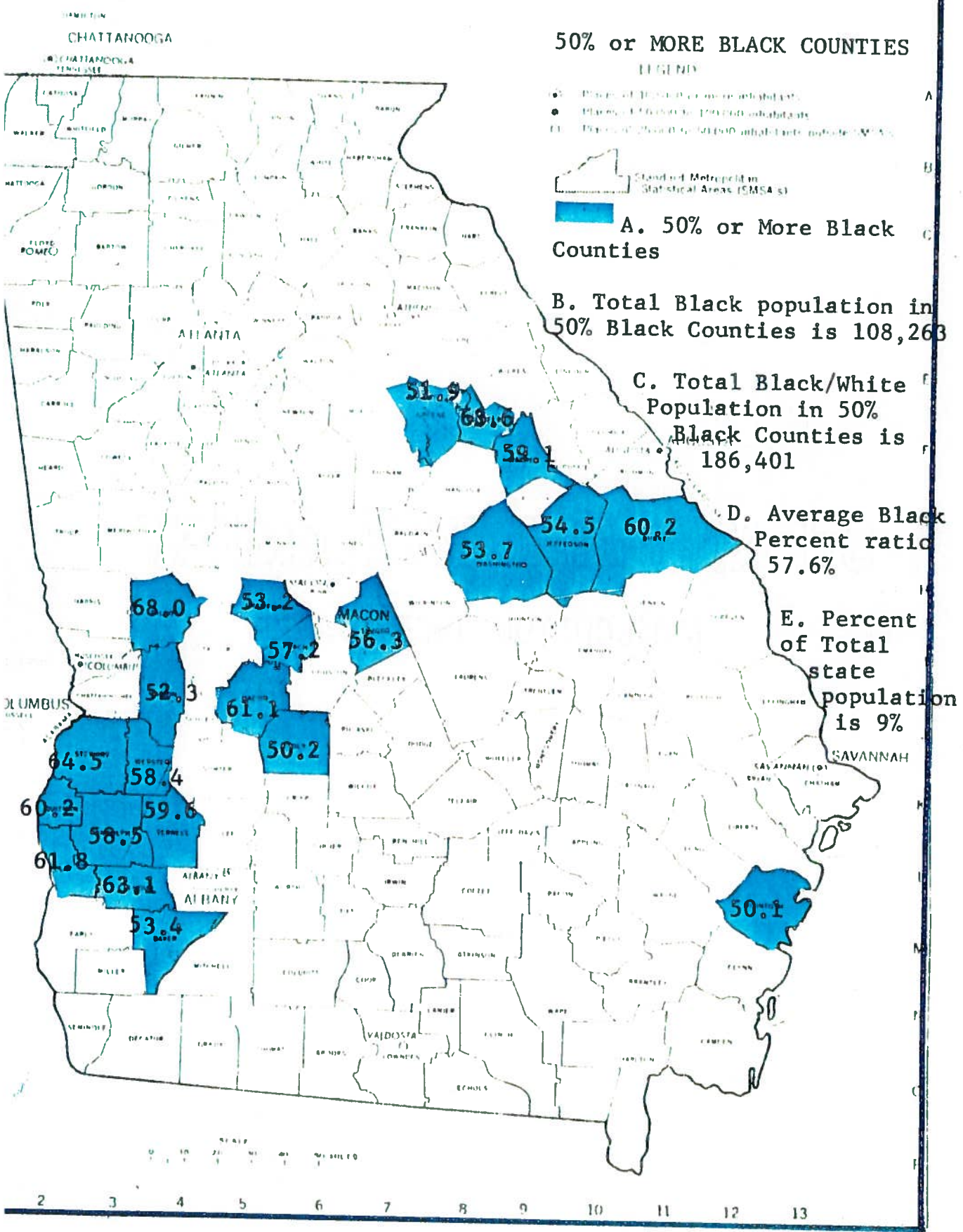
- Places of 100,000 or more inhabitants
- Places of 50,000 to 100,000 inhabitants
- Places of 25,000 to 50,000 inhabitants outside SMSAs

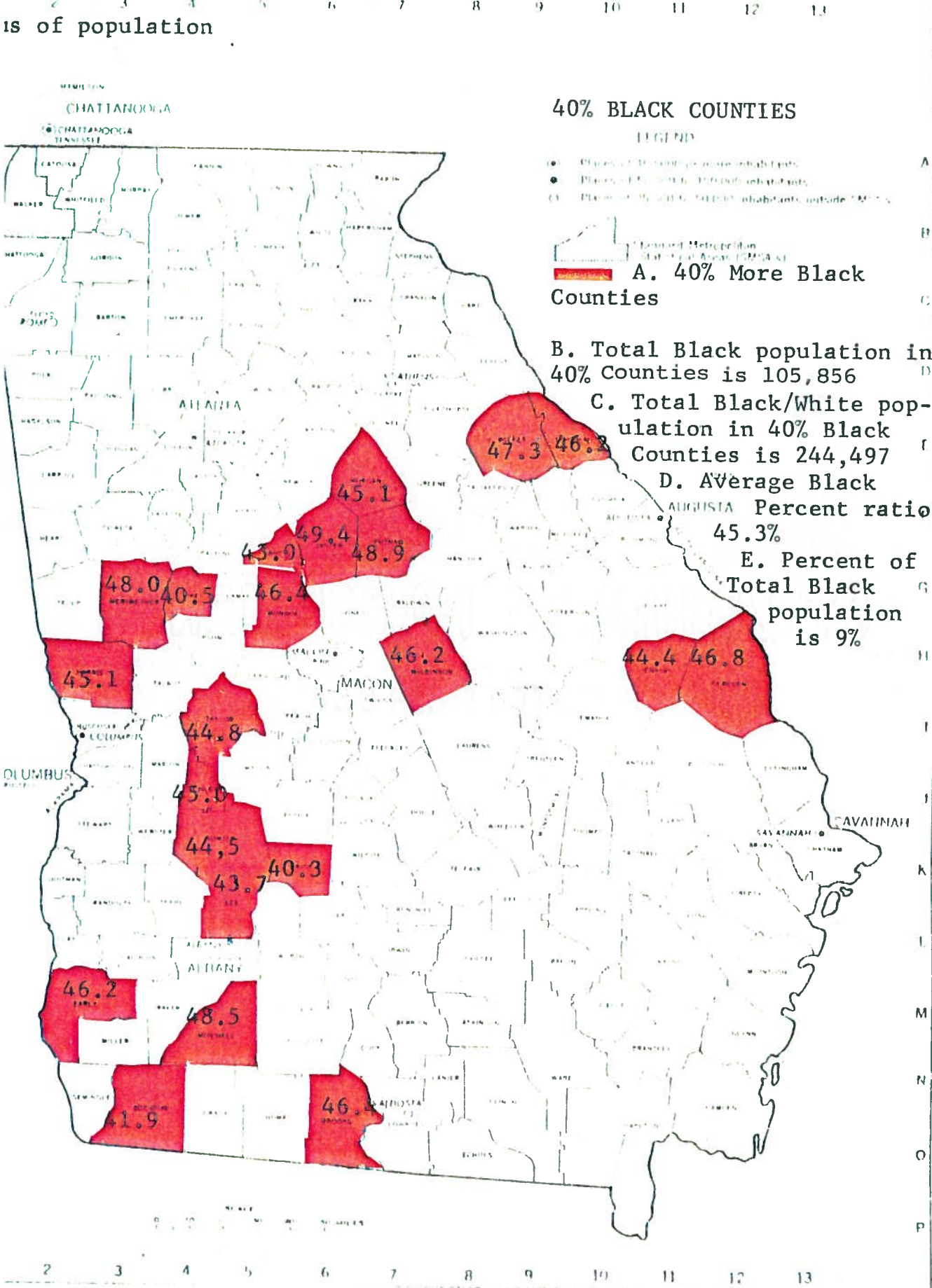


Red numbers indicate
percentage of County popula-
tion that is Black.

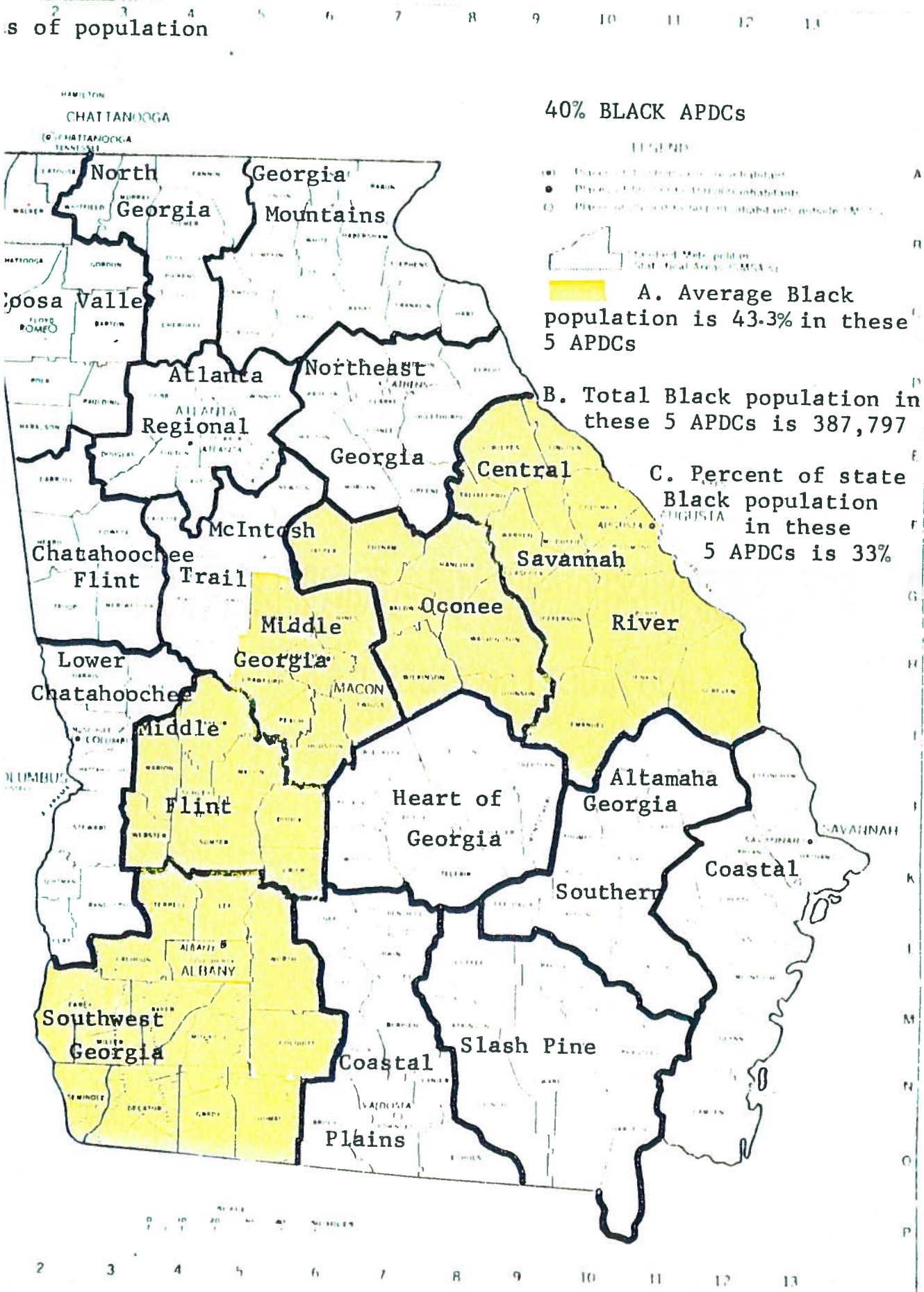


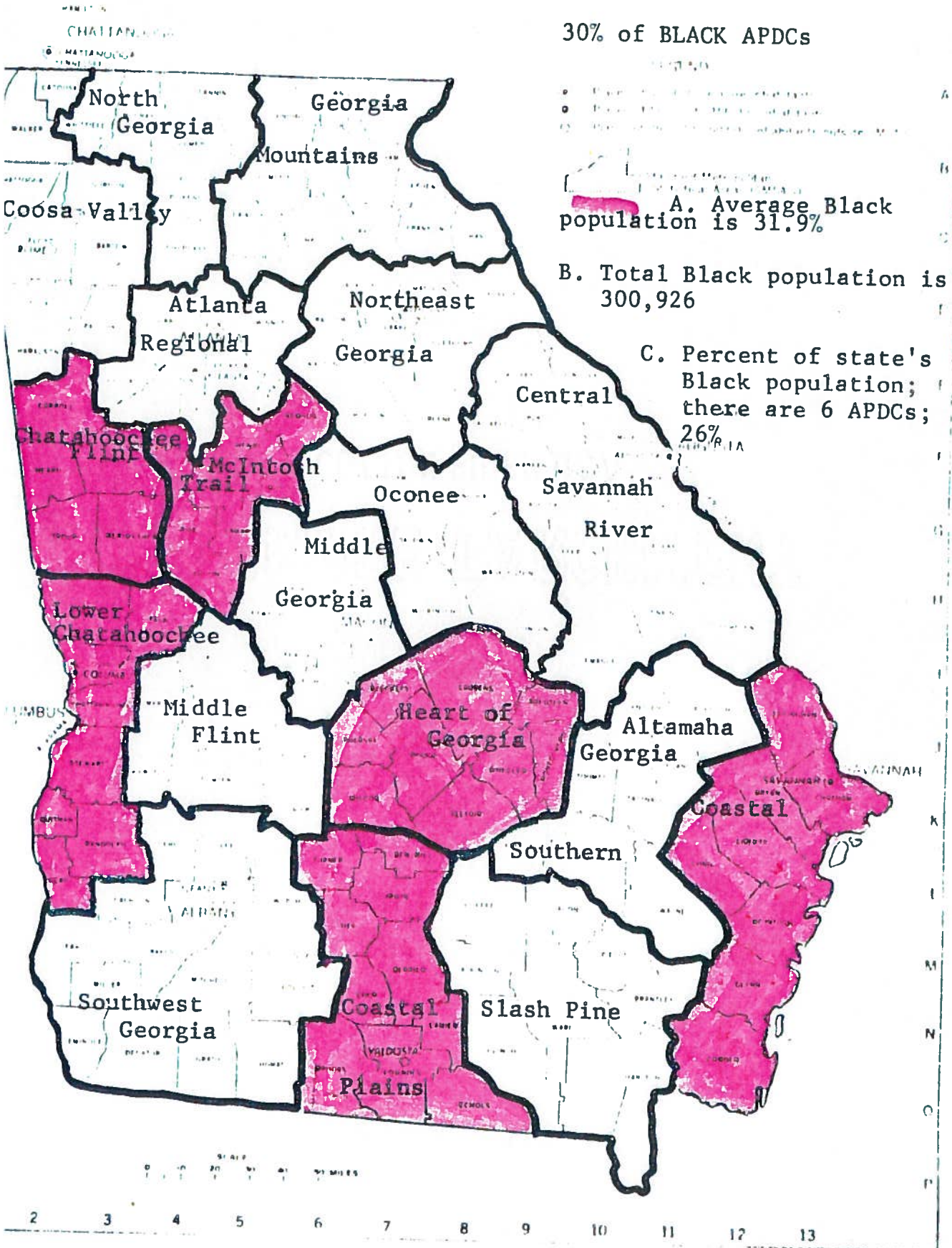
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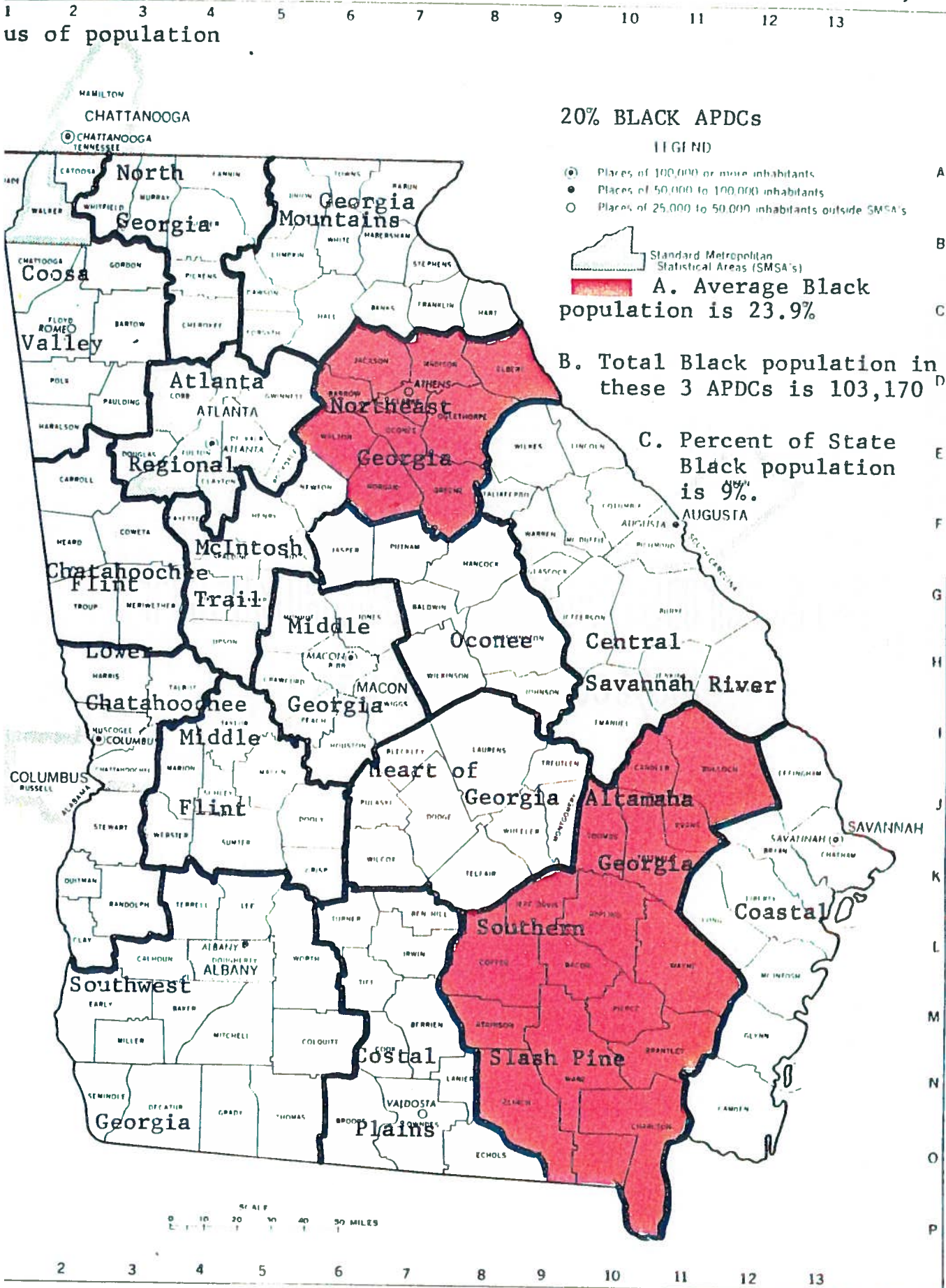




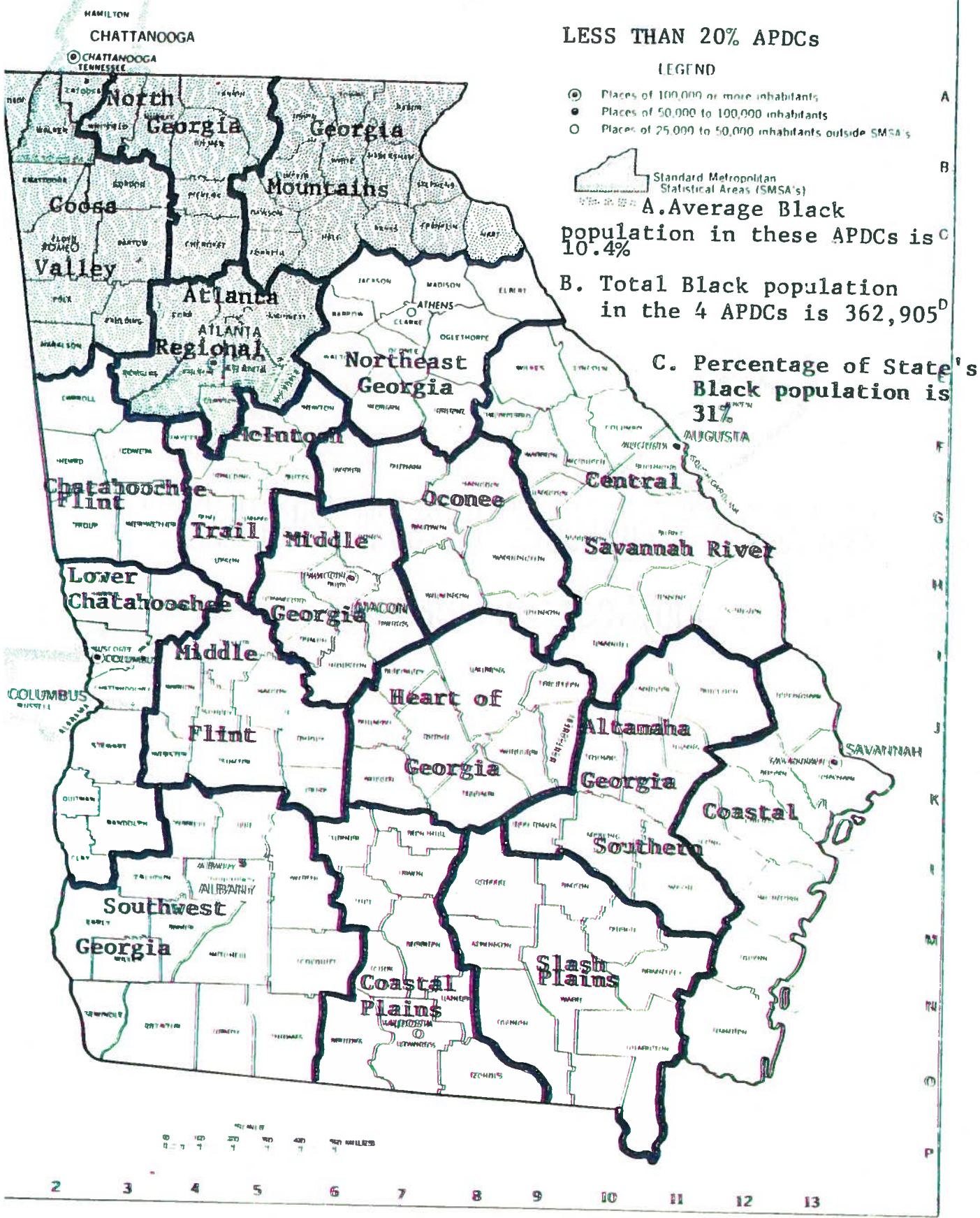




es, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas, and Selected Places
e: U.S. Department of Commerce: general population characteristics, 1970



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